

GREEN'S HISTORY  
OF  
THE  
ENGLISH PEOPLE



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# A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

BY JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A.

COMPLETE IN TEN VOLUMES



VOLUME VII

1611-1660

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# THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### THE FAVORITES.

1611—1625.

941. THE dissolution of the first Stuart parliament marks a stage in our constitutional history. With it the system of the Tudors came to an end. The oneness of aim which had carried nation and government alike through the storms of the reformation no longer existed. On the contrary the aims of the nation and the aims of the government were now in open opposition. The demand of England was that all things in the realm, courts, taxes, prerogatives, should be sanctioned and bounded by law. The policy of the king was to reserve whatever he could within the control of his personal will. James, in fact, was claiming a more personal and exclusive direction of affairs than any English sovereign that had gone before him. England, on the other hand, was claiming a greater share in its own guidance than it had enjoyed since the wars of the Roses. Nor were the claims on either side speculative or theoretical. Differences in the theory of government or on the relative jurisdiction of church and state might have been left, as of old, to the closet and the pulpit. But the opposition between the

crown and the people had gathered itself round practical questions, and round questions that were of interest to all. Every man's conscience was touched by the question of religion. Every man's pocket was touched by the question of taxation. The strongest among human impulses—the passion of religious zeal and that of personal self-interest—nerved Englishmen to a struggle with the crown. What gave the strife a yet more practical bearing was the fact that James had provided the national passion with a constitutional rallying-point. There was but one influence which could match the reverence which men felt for the crown, and that was the reverence that men felt for the parliament; nor had that reverence ever stood at a greater height than at the moment when James finally broke with the houses. The dissolution of 1611 proclaimed to the whole people a breach between two powers which it had hitherto looked upon as one. Not only did it disperse to every corner of the realm a crowd of great landowners and great merchants who formed centers of local opposition to the royal system, but it carried to every shire and every borough the news that the monarchy had broken with the great council of the realm.

942. On Cecil his failure fell like a sentence of doom. Steeped as he was in the Tudor temper, he could not understand an age when the Tudor system had become impossible; the mood of the commons and the mood of the king were alike unintelligible to him. He could see no ground for the failure of the great contract save that "God had not blessed

it." But he had little time to wonder at the new forces which were rising about him, for only a year after the dissolution, in May, 1612, he died, killed by overwork. With him died the last check on the policy of James. So long as Cecil lived the Elizabethan tradition, weakened and broken as it might be, lived with him. In foreign affairs there was still the conviction that the Protestant states must not be abandoned in any fresh struggle with the house of Austria. In home affairs there was still the conviction that the national strength hung on the establishment of good-will between the nation and the crown. But traditions such as these were no longer to hamper the policy of the king. To him Cecil's death seemed only to afford an opportunity for taking further strides toward the establishment of a purely personal rule. For eight years James had borne with the check of a powerful minister. He was resolved now to have no real minister but himself. Cecil's amazing capacity for toil, as well as his greed of power, had already smoothed the way for such a step. The great statesman had made a political solitude about him. Of his colleagues some had been removed by death, some set aside by his jealousy. Raleigh lay in prison; Bacon could not find office under the crown. And now that Cecil was removed, there was no minister whose character or capacity seemed to give him any right to fill his place. James could at last be his own minister. The treasury was put into commission. The post of secretary was left vacant, and it was announced that the king would be his own secretary of state. Such an arrangement soon

broke down, and the great posts of state were again filled with men of whose dependence James felt sure. But, whoever might nominally hold these offices, from the moment of Cecil's death the actual direction of affairs was in the hands of the king.

943. Another constitutional check remained in the royal council. As the influence of parliament died down during the wars of the Roses, that of the council took, to some extent, its place. Composed as it was, not only of ministers of the crown but of the higher nobles and hereditary officers of state, it served under Tudor, as under Plantagenet, as an efficient check on the arbitrary will of the sovereign. Even the despotic temper of Henry VIII. had had to reckon with his council : it had checked act after act of Mary ; it played a great part in the reign of Elizabeth. In the administrative tradition, indeed, of the last hundred years, the council had become all-important to the crown. It brought it in contact with public opinion, less efficiently, no doubt, but more constantly than the parliament itself ; it gave to its acts an imposing sanction and assured to them a powerful support ; above all, it provided a body which stood at every crisis between the nation and the monarchy, which broke the shock of any conflict, and which could stand forth as mediator, should conflict arise, without any loss of dignity on the part of the sovereign. But to the practical advantages or to the traditional weight of such a body James was utterly blind. His cleverness made him impatient of its discussions ; his conceit made him impatient of its control ; while the foreign traditions which he



had brought with him from a foreign land saw in the great nobles who composed it nothing but a possible force which might overawe the crown. One of his chief aims, therefore, had been to lessen the influence of the council. So long as Cecil lived, this was impossible, for the practical as well as the conservative temper of Cecil would have shrunk from so violent a change. But he was no sooner dead than James hastened to carry out his plans. The lords of the council found themselves of less and less account. They were practically excluded from all part in the government; and the whole management of affairs passed into the hands of the king or of the dependent ministers, who from this time became mere agents of the king's will.

944. Such a personal rule as this, concentrating, as it does, the whole business of government in a single man, requires for its actual conduct the entire devotion of the ruler to public affairs. The work of Ferdinand of Aragon, or of Frederick the Great, was the work of galley slaves. It was work which had broken down the strength of Wolsey, and which was to bow the iron frame of Oliver Cromwell. But James had no mind for work such as this. His intellect was quick, inventive, fruitful in device, eager to plan, and confident in the wisdom of its plans. But he had none of the quality which distinguishes intellectual power from mere cleverness, the capacity not only to plan, but to know what plans can actually be carried out, and by what means they can be carried out. Like all merely clever men, he looked down on the drudgery of details. The posts

which he had held vacant were soon filled up ; and before many months were over James ceased to be his own treasurer or his own secretary of state. But he still claimed the absolute direction of all affairs ; he was resolved to be his own chief minister. Even here, however, he felt the need of a more active and practical mood than his own for giving shape to the schemes with which his brain was fermenting ; and he fell back, as of old, on the tradition of his house. It was so long since England had seen a favorite that the memory of Gaveston or De Vere had almost faded away. But favorites had been part of the system of the Scottish kings. Hemmed in by turbulent barons, unable to find counselors among the nobles to whom the interests of the crown were dearer than the interests of their class or their house, Stuart after Stuart had been driven to look for a counselor and a minister in some dependent, bound to them by ties of personal attachment and of common danger. The Scotch nobles had dealt with such favorites after their manner. One they had hung, others they had stabbed ; the last, David Rizzio, had fallen beneath their daggers at Mary's feet. But the notion of a personal dependent through whom his designs might take form for the outer world was as dear to James as to his predecessors, and the death of Cecil was soon followed by the appearance of favorites.

945. There was an æsthetic element in the character of the Stuarts, which had shown itself in the poems and architectural skill of those who had gone before James, as it was to show itself in the artistic and literary taste of his successor. In James, gro-

tesque as was his own personal appearance, it took the form of a passionate admiration of manly beauty. It is possible that, with the fanciful platonism of the time, he saw in the grace of the outer form evidence of a corresponding fairness in the soul within. If so, he was egregiously deceived. The first favorite whom he raised to honor, a Scotch page named Carr, was as worthless as he was handsome. But his faults passed unheeded. Without a single claim to distinction save the favor of the king, Carr rose at a bound to honors which Elizabeth had denied to Raleigh and to Drake. He was enrolled among English nobles, and raised to the peerage as Viscount Rochester. Young as he was, he at once became sole minister. The lords of the council found themselves to be mere ciphers. "At the council table," writes the Spanish ambassador only a year after Cecil's death, "the Viscount Rochester showeth much temper and modesty without seeming to press or sway anything; but afterward the king resolveth all business with him alone." So sudden and complete a revolution in the system of the state would have drawn ill-will on the favorite, even had Rochester shown himself worthy of the king's trust. But he seemed only eager to show his unworthiness. Through the year 1613 all England was looking on with wonder and disgust at his effort to break the marriage of Lord Essex with his wife, Frances Howard. Both had been young when they wedded; the passionate girl soon learned to hate her cold and formal husband; and she yielded readily enough to the seductions of the brilliant favorite. The guilty passion of

the two was greedily seized on by the political intriguers of the court. Frances was daughter of a Howard, the Earl of Suffolk ; and her father and uncle, the Earl of Northampton, who had already felt the influence of the favorite displacing their own, saw in the girl's shame a chance of winning this influence to their side. With this view they resolved to break the marriage with Essex, and to wed her to Rochester. A charge of impotency was trumped up against Essex as a ground of divorce, and a commission was named for its investigation. The charge was disproved, and with this disproof the case broke utterly down ; but a fresh allegation was made that the earl lay under a spell of witchcraft which incapacitated him from intercourse with his wife, though with her alone. The scandal grew as it became clear that the cause of Lady Essex was backed by the king. The resolute protest of Archbishop Abbot against the proceedings was met by a petulant scolding from James, and when the commissioners were evenly divided in their judgment, the king added two known partisans of the countess to turn their verdict. By means such as these, after four months of scandal and shame, a sentence of divorce was at last procured, and Lady Essex set free to marry the favorite.

946. In the foul process of the divorce, James had been either dupe or confederate. But throughout the same four months he had been either confederate or dupe in a more terrible tragedy. In his rise to greatness, Rochester had been aided by the counsels of Sir Thomas Overbury. Overbury

was a young man of singular wit and ability, but he had as few scruples as his master, and he was as ready to lend himself to the favorite's lust as to his ambition. He dictated for him, in fact, the letters which won the heart of Lady Essex. But if he backed the intrigue, he seems, from whatever cause, to have opposed the project of marriage. So great was his power over Rochester that the Howards deemed it needful to take him out of the way while the divorce was being brought about, and with this end they roused the king's jealousy of this influence over the favorite. James became as resolute to get rid of him as the Howards; he offered him an embassy if he would quit England, and when he refused, he treated his refusal as an offense against the state. Overbury was committed to the Tower, and he remained a close prisoner while the suit took its course. Whether more than imprisonment was designed by the Howards, or what was the part the two earls played in the deeds that followed, is hard to tell. Still harder is it to tell the part of Rochester or of the king. But behind the web of political intrigue lay a woman's passion, and the part of Lady Essex is clear. Overbury had the secret of her shame to disclose, and she was resolved to silence him by death. A few days after the sentence of divorce was pronounced, he died in his prison, poisoned by her agents. The crime remained unknown; and not a whisper of it broke the king's exultation over his favorite's success. At the close of 1613 the scandal was crowned by the elevation of Rochester to the

earldom of Somerset and his union with Frances Howard. Murderess and adulteress as she was, the girl moved to her bridal through costly pageants which would have fitted the bridal of a queen. The marriage was celebrated in the king's presence. Ben Jonson devised the wedding song. Bacon spent £2000 in a wedding masque. The London companies offered sumptuous gifts. James himself forced the lord mayor to entertain the bride with a banquet in Merchant Taylors' house, and the gorgeous wedding train wound in triumph from Westminster to the city.

947. The shameless bridal was a fitting close to the shameless divorce, as both were outrages on the growing sense of morality. But they harmonized well enough with the profusion and profligacy of the Stuart court. In spite of Cecil's economy, the treasury was drained to furnish masques and revels on a scale of unexampled splendor. While debts remained unpaid, land and jewels were lavished on young adventurers whose fair faces caught the royal fancy. Two years back Carr had been a penniless fortune-seeker. Now, though his ostensible revenues were not large, he was able to spend £90,000 in a single twelvemonth. The court was as shameless as it was profuse. If the court of Elizabeth was as immoral as that of her successor, its immorality had been shrouded by a veil of grace and chivalry. But no veil shrouded the degrading grossness of the court of James. James was no drunkard, but he was a hard drinker, and with the people at large his hard drinking passed for drunkenness.

When the Danish king visited England, actors in a masque performed at court were seen rolling intoxicated at his feet. The suit of Lady Essex had shown great nobles and officers of state content to play panders to their kinswoman. A yet more scandalous trial was soon to show them in league with cheats, and astrologers, and poisoners. James had not shrunk from meddling busily in the divorce or from countenancing the bridal. Before scenes such as these, the half-idolatrous reverence with which the sovereign had been regarded throughout the age of the Tudors died away into abhorrence and contempt. Court prelates might lavish their adulation on the virtues and wisdom of the Lord's anointed; but the players openly mocked at the king on the stage, while Puritans like Mrs. Hutchinson denounced the orgies of Whitehall in words as fiery as those with which Elijah denounced the profligacy of Jezebel.

948. But profligate and prodigal as was the court, Somerset had to face the stern fact of an empty exchequer. The debt was growing steadily. It had now risen to £700,000, while, in spite of the impositions, the annual deficit had mounted to £200,000. The king had no mind to face the parliament again; but a little experience of affairs had sobered the arrogance of the favorite, and there still remained counselors of the same mind as Cecil, who pressed on him the need of reconciling the houses with the crown. What at last prevailed on the king were the pledges of some officious meddlers known as "undertakers," who promised to bring about the return to the house of commons of a majority favor-

able to the demand of a subsidy. But pledges such as these fell dead before the general excitement which greeted the tidings of a new parliament. Never had an election stirred so much popular passion as that of 1614. In every case where rejection was possible, the court candidates were rejected. All the leading members of the country party, or, as we should now term it, the opposition, were again returned. But 300 of the members were wholly new men; and among them we note for the first time the names of the leaders in the later struggle with the crown. Calne returned John Pym; Yorkshire sent Thomas Wentworth; St. Germain's chose John Eliot. Signs of unprecedented excitement were seen in the vehement cheering and hissing which for the first time marked the proceedings of the commons. But, excited as they were, their policy was precisely that of the parliament which had been dissolved three years before. James, indeed, was farther off from any notion of concession than ever; he had no mind to offer again the great contract or even to allow the subject of impositions to be named. But the parliament was as firm as the king. It refused to grant supplies till it had considered public grievances, and it fixed on the impositions and the abuses of the church as the first grievances to be redressed. Unluckily the inexperience of the bulk of the house of commons led it into quarreling on a point of privilege with the lords; and though the houses had sat but two months, James seized on the quarrel as a pretext for a fresh dissolution.



949. The courtiers mocked at the "addled parliament," but a statesman would have learned much from the anger and excitement that ran through its stormy debates. During the session the king had been frightened beyond his wont by the tone of the commons, but the only impressions which remained in his mind were those of wounded pride and stubborn resistance. He sent four of the leading members of the lower house to the Tower, and fell back on an obstinate resolve to govern without any parliament at all. The resolve was carried recklessly out through the next seven years. The protests of the commons James looked on as a defiance of the crown, and he met them in a spirit of counter-defiance. The abuses which parliament after parliament had denounced were not only continued, but carried to a greater extent than before. The spiritual courts were encouraged in fresh encroachments. Though the crown lawyers admitted the illegality of proclamations, they were issued in greater numbers than ever. Impositions were strictly levied. But a policy of defiance did little to fill the empty treasury. A large sum was gained by the sale to the Dutch of the towns which had been left by the states in pledge with Elizabeth; but even this supply was exhausted, and a fatal necessity drove James on to a formal and conscious breach of law. Whatever question might exist as to the legality of impositions, no question could exist since the statute of Richard the Third that benevolences were illegal. Nor was there any question that the levy of benevolences would rouse a deed

and abiding resentment in the nation at large. Even in the height of the Tudor power, Wolsey had been forced to abandon a resource which stirred England to revolt. But the crown lawyers advised that while the statute forbade the exaction of loans, it left the king free to ask for them; and James resolved to raise money by benevolences. At the close of the parliament of 1614, therefore, letters were sent out in the name of the council demanding loans from the richer landowners. The letters remained generally unanswered; and in the autumn fresh letters had to be sent out, in which the war which now threatened German Protestantism in the palatinate was used to spur the loyalty of the country to a response. The judges on assize were ordered to press the king's demand. But prayer and pressure failed alike. In the three years which followed the dissolution, the strenuous efforts of the sheriffs only raised £60,000, a sum less than two thirds of the value of a single subsidy. Devonshire, Nottinghamshire, and Warwickshire protested against the benevolences, and Somersetshire appealed to the statute which forbade them. It was in vain that the western remonstrants were silenced by threats from the council, and that the laggard shires were rated for their sluggishness in payment. Two counties, those of Hereford and Stafford, sent not a penny to the last.

950. In his distress for money the king was driven to expedients which widened the breach between the gentry and the crown. He had refused to part with the feudal rights which came down to him

from the Middle Ages, such as his right to the wardship of young heirs and the marriage of heiresses. These were now recklessly used as a means of extortion. Similar abuses of the prerogative alienated the merchant class. London, the main seat of their trade and wealth, was growing fast; and its growth roused terror in the government. In 1611 a proclamation forbade any increase of buildings. But the proclamation remained inoperative till it was seized as a means of extortion. A commission was issued in 1614, with power to fine all who had disobeyed the king's injunctions, and by its means a considerable sum was gathered into the treasury. All that remained to be done was to alienate the nobles, and this James succeeded in doing by a measure in which political design went hand in hand with the needs of his finance. The Tudors had watched the baronage with jealousy, but they had made no attempt to degrade it. The nobles were sent to the prison and the block, but their rank and honors remained dignities which the crown was chary to bestow even on the noblest of its servants. During the forty-five years of her reign, Elizabeth raised but seven persons to the peerage, and, with the exception of Burleigh, all of these were of historic descent. The number of lay peers, indeed, had hardly changed for two centuries; they were about fifty at the accession of Henry the Fifth, and counted but sixty at the accession of James. In so small an assembly, where the crown could count on the unwavering support of ministers, courtiers, and bishops, the royal influence had through the last hun-

dred years been generally supreme. But among the lords of the "old blood," as those whose honors dated from as far back as the Plantagenets were called, there lingered a spirit of haughty independence, which, if it had quailed before the Tudors, showed signs of bolder life now the Tudors had gone. It was the policy of James to raise up a new nobility more dependent on the court, a nobility that might serve as a bridle on the older lords, while the increase in the numbers of the baronage which their creation brought about, lessened the weight which a peer had drawn from his special and unique position in the realm. Such a policy fell in with the needs of his treasury. Not only could he degrade the peerage by lavishing its honors, but he could degrade it yet more by putting them up to sale. Of the forty-five lay peers whom he added to the upper house during his reign, a large number were created by sheer bargaining. Baronies were sold to bidders at £10,000 apiece. Ten nobles were created in a batch. Peerages were given to the Scotch dependents whom James brought with him, to Hume and Hay, and Bruce and Ramsay, as well as to his favorites Carr and Villiers. Robartes, of Cornwall, a man who had risen to great wealth through the Cornish mines, complained that he had been forced to take a baronage, for which he had to pay £10,000 to a favorite's use.

951. That this profuse creation of peers was more than the result of passing embarrassment was shown by its continuance under James's successors. Charles the First bestowed no less than fifty-six peerages;

Charles the Second forty-eight. But in its immediate application it was no doubt little more than one of those financial shifts by which the king put off from day to day the necessity of again facing the one body which could permanently arrest his effort after despotic rule. There still, however, remained a body whose tradition was strong enough, if not to arrest, at any rate to check it. The lawyers had been subservient beyond all other classes to the crown. Their narrow pedantry bent slavishly then, as now, before isolated precedents, while then, as now, their ignorance of general history hindered them from realizing the conditions under which these precedents had been framed, and to which they owed their very varying value. It was thus that the judges had been brought to support James in his case of the post-nati or in the levy of impositions. But beyond precedents even the judges refused to go. They had done their best in a case that came before them to restrict the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts within legal and definite bounds, and their effort at once brought down on them the wrath of the king. All that affected the spiritual jurisdiction affected, he said, his prerogative; and whenever any case which affected his prerogative came before a court of justice, he asserted that the king possessed an inherent right to be consulted as to the decision upon it. The judges timidly, though firmly, repudiated such a right as unknown to the law. To a king whose notions of law and of courts of law were drawn from those of Scotland, where justice had for centuries been a ready wea-

pon in the royal hand, such a protest was utterly unintelligible. James sent for them to the royal closet. He rated them like school-boys till they fell on their knees, and, with a single exception, pledged themselves to obey his will. The one exception was the chief justice, Sir Edward Coke, a narrow-minded and bitter-tempered man, but of the highest eminence as a lawyer, and with a reverence for the law that overrode every other instinct. He had for some time been forced to evade the king's questions and "closetings" on judicial cases by timely withdrawal from the royal presence. But now that he was driven to answer, he answered well. When any case came before him, he said he would act as it became a judge to act. Coke was at once dismissed from the council, and a provision which made the judicial office tenable at the king's pleasure, but which had long fallen into disuse, was revived to humble the common law in the person of its chief officer. In November, 1616, on the continuance of his resistance, he was deprived of his post of chief justice.

952. No act of James seems to have stirred a deeper resentment among Englishmen than this announcement of his resolve to tamper with the course of justice. The firmness of Coke in his refusal to consult with the king on matters affecting his prerogative was justified by what immediately followed. As James interpreted the phrase, to consult with the king meant simply to obey the king's bidding as to what the judgment of a court should be. In the case which was then at issue, he summoned the judges simply to listen to his decision; and the

judges promised to enforce it. The king's course was an outrage on the growing sense of law; but his success was not without useful results. In his zeal to assert his personal will as the source of all power, whether judicial or other, James had struck one of its most powerful instruments from the hands of the crown. He had broken the spell of the royal courts. If the good sense of Englishmen had revolted against their decisions in favor of the prerogative, the English reverence for law had made men submit to them. But now that all show of judicial independence was taken away, and the judges debased into mere mouth-pieces of the king's will, the weight of their judgments came to an end. The nation had bent before their decision in favor of the post-nati; it had never a thought of bending before their decision in favor of ship-money.

953. What an impassable gulf lay between the English conception of justice and that of James was shown even more vividly by the ruin of one who stood higher than Coke. At the opening of 1615, Somersct was still supreme. He held the rank of lord chamberlain; but he was practically the king's minister in state affairs, domestic or foreign. He was backed since his marriage by the influence of the Howards; and his father-in-law, Suffolk, was lord treasurer. He was girt round, indeed, by rivals and foes. The queen was jealous of his influence over James; Archbishop Abbot dreaded his intrigues with Spain, intrigues which drew fresh meaning from the Catholic sympathies of the Howards; above all, the older lords of the council, whom he ousted

from any share in the government, watched eagerly for the moment when they hoped to regain their power by his fall. As he moved through the crowd of nobles, he heard men muttering "that one man should not forever rule them all." But Somerset's arrogance only grew with the danger. A new favorite was making way at court, and the king was daily growing colder. But Somerset only rated James for his coldness, demanded the dismissal of the new favorite, and refused to be propitiated by the king's craven apologies. His enemies, however, had a fatal card to play. In the summer, whispers stole about of Overbury's murder, and of Somerset's part in it. The charge was laid secretly before the king, and a secret investigation conducted by his order threw darker and darker light on the story of guilt. Somerset was still unconscious of his peril, and the news that some meaner agents in the crime were arrested found him still with the king, and in the seeming enjoyment of his wonted favor. He at once took horse for London to face his foes, and James parted from him with his usual demonstrations of affection. "He would neither eat nor drink," he said, "till he saw him again." He was hardly gone when James added, "I shall never see him more." His ruin, in fact, was already settled. In a few days he was a prisoner with his wife in the Tower; the agents in the fatal plot were sent to trial and to the gallows; and in May, 1616, the young countess was herself brought before the lord steward's court to avow her guilt. Somerset's daring nature made a more stubborn stand. He threatened



the king with disclosures, we know not of what, and when arraigned denied utterly any share in the murder. All, however, was in vain; and he and the countess were alike sentenced to death.

954. If ever justice called for the rigorous execution of the law, it was in the case of Frances Howard. Not only was the countess a murderess, but her crime passed far beyond the range of common murders. Girl as she was when it was wrought, she had shown the coolness and deliberation of a practised assassin in her lust to kill. Chance foiled her efforts again and again, but she persisted for months, she changed her agents and her modes of death, till her victim was slain. Nor was her crime without profit. She gained by it all she wanted. The secret of her adultery was hidden. There was no one to reveal the perjuries of her divorce. Her ambition and her passion were alike gratified. She became the bride of the man she desired. Her kindred filled the court. Her husband ruled the king. If crime be measured by its relentless purpose, if the guilt of crime be heightened by its amazing success, then no woman that ever stood in the dock was a greater criminal than the wife of Rochester. Nor was this all. The wretched agents in her crime were sent pitilessly to the gallows. The guilt of two of them was at least technically doubtful, but the doubt was not suffered to interfere with their punishment. Only in the one case where no doubt existed, in the case of the woman who had spurred and bribed these tools to their crime, was punishment spared. If life was left to such a criminal, the hanging of

these meaner agents was a murder. But this was the course on which James had resolved, and he had resolved on it from the first. There was no more pressure on him. The rivals of Somerset had no need for his blood. The councilors and the new favorite required only his ruin, and James himself was content with being freed from a dependent who had risen to be his master. His pride probably shrank from the shame which the public death of such criminals on such a charge might bring on himself and his crown; his good-nature pleaded for pity, and the claims of justice never entered his head. Before the trial began he had resolved that neither should die, and the sentence of the earl and the countess was soon commuted into that of an easy confinement during a few years in the Tower.

955. The fall of Somerset seemed to restore the old system of rule; and for a short time the council regained somewhat of its influence. But when the queen gave her aid in Somerset's overthrow, she warned Archbishop Abbot that it was only investiture of a new favorite with Somerset's power. And a new favorite was already on the scene. It had only been possible, indeed, to overthrow the earl by bringing a fresh face into the court. In the autumn of 1614, the son of a Leicestershire knight, George Villiers, presented himself to James. He was poor and friendless, but his personal beauty was remarkable, and it was by his beauty that he meant to make his way with the king. His hopes were soon realized. Queen, primate, councilors, seized on the handsome youth to put him against the favorite; in

spite of Somerset's struggles he rose from post to post; and the earl's ruin sealed his greatness. He became master of the house; before the close of 1616, he was raised to the peerage as Viscount Villiers, and gifted with lands to the value of £80,000. The next year he was Earl of Buckingham; in 1619, he was made lord high admiral; a marquisate and a dukedom raised him to the head of the English nobility. What was of far more import was the hold he gained upon the king. Those who had raised the handsome boy to greatness as a means of establishing their own power found themselves foiled. From the moment when Somerset entered the Tower, Villiers virtually took his place as minister of state. The councilors soon found themselves again thrust aside. The influence of the new favorite surpassed that of his predecessor. The payment of bribes to him or marriage to his greedy kindred became the one road to political preferment. Resistance to his will was inevitably followed by dismissal from office. Even the highest and most powerful of the nobles were made to tremble at the nod of this young upstart.

956. "Never any man in any age, nor, I believe, in any country," says the astonished Clarendon in reviewing his strange career, "rose in so short a time to so much greatness of honor, power, or fortune, upon no other advantage or recommendation than that of the beauty or gracefulness of his person." Such, no doubt, was the general explanation of his rise among men of the time; and it would have been well had the account been true. The follies and

profusion of a handsome minion pass lightly over the surface of a nation's life. Unluckily, Villiers owed his fortune to other qualities besides personal beauty. He was amazingly ignorant, his greed was insatiate, his pride mounted to sheer midsummer madness. But he had no inconsiderable abilities. He was quick of wit and resolute of purpose; he shrank from no labor; his boldness and self-confidence faced any undertaking which was needful for the king's service; he was devoted, heart and soul, to the crown. Over James his hold was that of a vehement and fearless temper over a mind infinitely better informed, infinitely more thoughtful and reflective, but vague and hesitating amid all its self-conceit, crowded with theories and fancies, and with a natural bent to the unpractical and unreal. To such a mind the shallow, brilliant adventurer came as a relief. James found all his wise follies and politic moonshine translated for him into positive fact. He leant more and more heavily on an adviser who never doubted and was always ready to act. He drew strength from his favorite's self-confidence. Rochester had bent before greatness and listened more than once, even in the hour of his triumph, to the counsels of wiser men. But on the conceit of Villiers the warnings of Abbot, the counsels of Bacon, were lavished in vain. He saw no course but his own; and the showy, audacious temper of the man made that course always a showy and audacious one. It was this that made the choice of the new favorite more memorable than the choice of Carr. At a moment when con-

ciliation and concession were most needed on the part of the crown, the character of Villiers made concession and conciliation impossible. To James, his new adviser seemed the weapon he wanted to smite with trenchant edge the resistance of the realm. He never dreamed that the haughty young favorite, on whose neck he loved to loll, and whose cheek he slobbered with kisses, was to drag down in his fatal career the throne of the Stuarts.

957. As yet the temper of Villiers was as little known to the country as to the king. But the setting up of a new favorite on the ruin of the old had a significance which no Englishman could miss. It proved beyond question that the system of personal rule which was embodied in these dependent ministers was no passing caprice, but the settled purpose of the king. And never had such immense results hung on his resolve. Great as was the importance of the struggle at home, it was for a while to be utterly overshadowed by the greatness of the struggle which was opening abroad. The dangers which Cecil had foreseen in Germany were fast drawing to a head. Though he had failed to put England in a position to meet them, the dying statesman remained true to his policy. In 1612 he brought about a marriage between the king's daughter, Elizabeth, and the heir of the elector palatine, who was the leading prince in the Protestant union. Such a marriage was a pledge that England would not tamely stand by if the union was attacked; while the popularity of the match showed how keenly England was watching the dangers of German Protestantism, and

how ready it was to defend it. But the step was hardly taken when Cecil's death left James free to pursue a policy of his own. The king was as anxious as his minister to prevent an outbreak of strife; and his daughter's bridal gave him a personal interest in the question. But he was far from believing with Cecil that the support of England was necessary for effective action. On the contrary, his quick, shallow intelligence held that it had found a way by which the crown might at once exert weight abroad and be rendered independent of the nation at home. This was by a joint action with Spain. Weakened as were the resources of Spain by her struggle in the Netherlands, she was known to be averse from the opening of new troubles in Germany; and James might fairly reckon on her union with him in the work of peace. Her influence with the German branch of the house of Austria, as well as the weight her opinion had with every Catholic power, made her efforts even more important than those of James with the Calvinists. And that such a union could be brought about, the king never doubted. His son was growing to manhood; and for years Spain had been luring James to a closer friendship by hints of the prince's marriage with an infanta. Such a match would not only gratify the pride of a sovereign who in his earlier days in his little kingdom had been overawed by the great Catholic monarchy, and on whose imagination it still exercised a spell, but it would proclaim to the world the union of the powers in the work of peace, while it provided James with the means of action.

For, poor as Spain really was, she was still looked upon as the richest state in the world; and the king believed that the bride would bring with her a dowry of some half a million. Such a dowry would set him free from the need of appealing to his parliament, and give him the means of acting energetically on the Rhine.

958. That there were difficulties in the way of such a policy, that Spain would demand concessions to the English Catholics, that the marriage would give England a Catholic queen, that the future heir of its crown must be trained by a Catholic mother, above all, that the crown would be parted by plans such as these yet more widely from the sympathy of the nation, James could not but know. What he might have known as clearly, had he been a wise man instead of merely a clever man, was that, however such a bargain might suit himself, it was hardly likely to suit Spain. Spain was asked, in effect, to supply a bankrupt king with the means of figuring as the protector of Protestantism in Germany, while the only consideration offered to her was the hand of Prince Charles. But it never occurred to James to look at his schemes in any other light than his own. On the dissolution of the parliament of 1614 he addressed a proposal of marriage to the Spanish court. Whatever was its ultimate purpose, Spain was careful to feed hopes which secured, so long as they lasted, better treatment for the Catholics, and which might be used to hold James from any practical action on behalf of the Protestants in Germany. Her cordiality increased as she saw, in spite of her pro-

tests, the crisis approaching. One member of the Austrian house, Ferdinand, had openly proclaimed and carried out his purpose of forcibly suppressing heresy in the countries he ruled, the Tyrol, Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria; and his succession to the childless Matthias in the rest of the Austrian dominions would infallibly be followed by a similar repression. To the Protestants of the duchy, of Bohemia, of Hungary, therefore, the accession of Ferdinand meant either utter ruin or civil war, and a civil war would spread like wild-fire along the Danube to the Rhine. But Matthias was resolved on bringing about the recognition of Ferdinand as his successor; and Spain saw that the time was come for effectually fettering James. If troubles must arise, religion and policy at once dictated the use which Spain would have to make of them. She could not support heretics, and she had very good reasons for supporting their foes. The great aim of her statesmen was to hold what was left of the Low Countries against either France or the Dutch, and now that she had lost the command of the sea, the road overland from her Italian dominions along the Rhine through Franche Comté to the Netherlands was absolutely needful for this purpose. But this road led through the palatinate; and if war was to break out, Spain must either secure the palatinate for herself or for some Catholic prince on whose good-will she could rely. That the Dutch would oppose such a scheme was inevitable; but James could be duped into inaction by playing with his schemes for a marriage with the infanta. In 1617, therefore, negotia-



tions for this purpose were formally opened between the courts of London and Madrid.

959. Anger and alarm spread through England as the nation learned that James aimed at placing a Catholic queen upon his throne. Even at the court itself the cooler heads of statesmen were troubled by this disclosure of the king's projects. The old tradition of Cecil's policy lingered among a powerful party which had its representatives among the royal ministers; and powerless as these were to influence the king's course, they still believed they could impede it. If by any means war could be stirred up between England and Spain, the marriage treaty would fall to ruin, and James be forced into union with the Protestants abroad and into some reconciliation with the parliament at home. The wild project by which they strove to bring war about may have sprung from a brain more inventive than their own. Of the great statesmen and warriors of Elizabeth's day one only remained. At the opening of the new reign Sir Walter Raleigh had been convicted on a charge of treason; but, though unpardoned, the sentence was never carried out, and he had remained ever since a prisoner in the Tower. As years went by, the New World, where he had founded Virginia and where he had gleaned news of a golden city, threw more and more spell over his imagination; and at this moment he disclosed to James his knowledge of a gold mine on the Orinoco, and prayed that he might sail thither and work its treasures for the king. No Spanish settlement, he said, had been made there; and, like the rest of the Elizabethans, he took no

heed of the Spanish claims to all lands in America, whether settled or no. The king was tempted by the bait of gold; but he had no mind to be tricked out of his friendship with Spain; he exacted a pledge against any attack on Spanish territory, and told Raleigh that the shedding of Spanish blood would cost him his head. The threat told little on a man who had risked his head again and again; who believed in the tale he told; and who knew that if war could be brought about between England and Spain a new career was open to him. He found the coast occupied by Spanish troops; and while evading direct orders to attack, he sent his men up the country. They plundered a Spanish town, found no goldmine, and soon came broken and defeated back. Raleigh's son had fallen in the struggle; but, heart-broken as he was by the loss and disappointment, the natural daring of the man saw a fresh resource. He proposed to seize the Spanish treasure-ships as he returned, to sail with their gold to England, and, like Drake, to turn the heads of nation and king by the immense spoil. But the temper of the buccaneers was now strange to English seamen; his men would not follow him; and he was brought home to face his doom. James at once put his old sentence in force; and the death of Raleigh on the scaffold atoned for the affront to Spain.

960. The failure of Raleigh came at a critical moment in German history. In 1617, while he was traversing the southern seas, Ferdinand was presented by Matthias to the diet of Bohemia, and acknowledged by it as successor to that kingdom. As

had been foreseen, he at once began the course of forcible conversion to Catholicism which had been successful in his other dominions. But the Bohemian nobles were not men to give up their faith without a fight for it; and in May, 1618, they rose in revolt, flung Ferdinand's deputies out of the window of the palace at Prague, and called the country to arms. The long-dreaded crisis had come for Germany; but, as if with a foresight of the awful suffering that the struggle was to bring, the Germans strove to look on it as a local revolt. The Lutheran princes longed only "to put the fire out;" the Calvinistic union refused aid to the Bohemians; the Catholic league remained motionless. What partly accounted for the inaction of the Protestants was the ability of the Bohemians to hold their own. They were a match for all Ferdinand's efforts; through autumn and winter they held him easily at bay. In the spring of 1619 they even marched upon Vienna and all but surprised their enemy within his capital. But at this juncture the death of Matthias changed the face of affairs. Ferdinand became master of the whole Austrian heritage in Germany, and he offered himself as candidate for the vacant imperial crown. Union among the Protestants might have hindered his accession, and with it the terrible strife which he was to bring upon the empire. But an insane quarrel between Lutherans and Calvinists paralyzed their efforts; and in August, 1619, Ferdinand became emperor. Bohemia knew that its strength was insufficient to check a foe such as this; and two days before his formal election to the empire its nobles declared

the realm vacant, and chose Frederick, the young elector palatine, as their king.

Frederick accepted the crown ; but he was no sooner enthroned at Prague than the Bohemians saw themselves foiled in the hope which had dictated their choice. They had trusted that Frederick's election would secure them support from the Calvinist union, of which he was the leading member, and from James, whose daughter was his wife. But support from the union was cut off by the jealousy of the French government, which saw with suspicion the upgrowth of a great Calvinistic power, stretching from Bohemia to its own frontier, and pushing its influence through its relations with the Huguenot party into the very heart of France. James, on the other hand, was bitterly angered at Frederick's action. He could not recognize the right of subjects to depose a prince, or support Bohemia in what he looked on as a revolt, or Frederick in what he believed to be the usurpation of a crown. By envoy after envoy he called on his son-in-law to lay down his new royalty, and to return to the palatinate. His refusal of aid to the Protestant union helped the pressure of France in paralyzing its action, while he threatened war against Holland, the one power which was earnest in the palatine's cause. It was in vain that in England both court and people were unanimous in a cry for war, or that Archbishop Abbot from his sick-bed implored James to strike one blow for Protestantism. James still called on Frederick to withdraw from Bohemia, and relied in such a case on the joint efforts of England and

Spain for a re-establishment of peace. But no consent to his plans could be wrung from Frederick; and the spring of 1620 saw Spain ready to throw aside the mask. The time had come for securing her road to the Netherlands, as well as for taking her old stand as a champion of Catholicism. Rumors of her purpose had already stolen over the channel, and James was brought at last to suffer Sir Horace Vere to take some English volunteers to the palatinate. But the succor came too late. Spinola, the Spanish general in the Low Countries, was ordered to march to the aid of the emperor; and the famous Spanish battalions were soon moving up the Rhine. Their march turned the local struggle in Bohemia into a European war. The whole face of affairs was changed as by enchantment. The hesitation of the union was ended by the needs of self-defense; but it could only free its hands for action against the Spaniards by signing a treaty of neutrality with the Catholic league. The treaty sealed the fate of Bohemia. It enabled the army of the league under Maximilian of Bavaria to march down the valley of the Danube; Austria was forced to submit unconditionally to Ferdinand; and in August, as Spinola reached the frontier of the palatinate, the joint army of Ferdinand and the league prepared to enter Bohemia.

962. On James the news of these events burst like a thunder-bolt. He had been duped; and for the moment he bent before the burst of popular fury which the danger to German Protestantism called forth throughout the land. The cry for a parliament, the necessary prelude to a war, overpowered

the king's secret resistance ; and the houses were again called together. But before they could meet, the game of Protestantism was lost. Spinola beat the troops of the union back upon Worms, and occupied with ease the bulk of the palatinate. On the 8th of November the army of the league forced Frederick to battle before the walls of Prague ; and before the day was over, he was galloping off, a fugitive, to North Germany. Such was the news that met the houses on their assembly at Westminster in January, 1621. The instinct of every Englishman told him that matters had now passed beyond the range of mediation or diplomacy. Armies were moving, fierce passions were aroused, schemes of vast ambition and disturbance were disclosing themselves ; and at such a moment the only intervention possible was an intervention of the sword. The German princes called on James to send them an army. "The business is gone too far to be redressed with words only," said the Danish king, who was prepared to help them. "I thank God we hope, with the help of his majesty of Great Britain and the rest of our friends, to give unto the count palatine good conditions. If ever we are to do any good for the liberty of Germany and religion, now is the time." But this appeal met offers of "words only," and Denmark withdrew from the strife in despair. James, in fact, was as confident in his diplomatic efforts as ever ; but even he saw at last that they needed the backing of some sort of armed force, and it was to procure this backing that he called for supplies from the parliament.

963. The commons were bitterly chagrined. They had come together, trusting that their assembly meant such an attitude on the part of the crown as would have rallied the Protestants of Germany round England, and have aided the enterprise of the Dane. Above all, they hoped for war with the power which had at once turned the strife to its own profit, whose appearance in the palatinate had broken the strength of German Protestantism, and set the league free to crush Frederick at Prague. They found only demands for supplies, and a persistence in the old efforts to patch up a peace. Fresh envoys were now laboring to argue the emperor into forgiveness of Frederick and to argue the Spaniards into an evacuation of Frederick's dominions. With such aims not only was no war against the Spaniard to be thought of, but his good-will must be sought by granting permission for the export of arms from England to Spain. The commons could only show their distrust of such a policy by a small vote of supplies and refusal of further aid in the future. But if their resentment could find no field in foreign affairs, it found a field at home. The most crying constitutional grievance arose from the revival of monopolies, in spite of the pledge of Elizabeth to suppress them. To the crown they brought little profit; but they gratified the king by their extension of the sphere of his prerogative, and they put money into the pockets of his greedy dependents. A parliamentary right which had slept ever since the reign of Henry the Sixth, the right of the lower house to impeach great offenders at the bar of the lords, was revived

against the monopolists, and James was driven by the general indignation to leave them to their fate. But the practice of monopolies was only one sign of the corruption of the court. Sales of peerages, sales of high offices of state, had raised a general disgust; and this disgust showed itself in the impeachment of the highest among the officers of state.

964. At the accession of James the rays of royal favor, so long looked for in vain, had broken slowly upon Francis Bacon. He became successively solicitor and attorney-general; the year of Shakespeare's death saw him called to the privy council; he verified Elizabeth's prediction by becoming lord keeper. At last the goal of his ambition was reached. He had attached himself to the rising fortunes of Buckingham, and in 1618 the favor of Buckingham made him lord chancellor. He was raised to the peerage as Baron Verulam, and created, at a later time, Viscount St. Albans. But the nobler dreams for which these meaner honors had been sought escaped Bacon's grasp. His projects still remained projects, while to retain his hold on office he was stooping to a miserable compliance with the worst excesses of Buckingham and his master. The years during which he held the chancellorship were, in fact, the most disgraceful years of a disgraceful reign. They saw the execution of Raleigh, the sacrifice of the palatinate, the exaction of benevolences, the multiplication of monopolies, the supremacy of Buckingham. Against none of the acts of folly and wickedness which distinguished James's government did Bacon do more than protest; in some of the worst,



and, above all, in the attempt to coerce the judges into prostrating the law at the king's feet, he took a personal part. But even his protests were too much for the young favorite, who regarded him as the mere creature of his will. It was in vain that Bacon flung himself on the duke's mercy, and begged him to pardon a single instance of opposition to his caprice. A parliament was impending, and Buckingham resolved to avert from himself the storm which was gathering by sacrificing to it his meaner dependents.

965. To ordinary eyes the chancellor was at the summit of human success. Jonson had just sung of him as one "whose even thread the Fates spin round and full out of their choicest and their whitest wool" when the storm burst. The commons charged Bacon with corruption in the exercise of his office. It had been customary among chancellors to receive gifts from successful suitors after their suit was ended. Bacon, it is certain, had taken such gifts from men whose suits were still unsettled; and though his judgment may have been unaffected by them, the fact of their reception left him with no valid defense. He at once pleaded guilty to the charge. "I do plainly and ingenuously confess that I am guilty of corruption, and do renounce all defense. I beseech your lordships," he added, "to be merciful to a broken reed." Though the heavy fine laid on him was remitted by the crown, he was deprived of the great seal and declared incapable of holding office in the state or sitting in parliament. Fortunately for his after-fame, Bacon's life was not

to close in this cloud of shame. His fall restored him to that position of real greatness from which his ambition had so long torn him away. "My conceit of his person," says Ben Jonson, "was never increased toward him by his place or honors. But I have and do reverence him for his greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever by his work one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had been in many ages. In his adversity I ever prayed that God would give him strength; for greatness he could not want." Bacon's intellectual activity was never more conspicuous than in the last four years of his life. He began a digest of the laws and a history of England under the Tudors, revised and expanded his essays, and dictated a jest-book. He had presented "*Novum Organum*" to James in the year before his fall; in the year after it he produced his "*Natural and Experimental History*." Meanwhile he busied himself with experiments in physics which might carry out the principles he was laying down in these works; and it was while studying the effect of cold in preventing animal putrefaction that he stopped his coach to stuff a fowl with snow, and caught the fever which ended in his death.

966. James was too shrewd to mistake the importance of Bacon's impeachment; but the hostility of Buckingham to the chancellor, and Bacon's own confession of his guilt, made it difficult to resist his condemnation. Energetic, too, as its measures were against corruption and monopolists, the parliament respected scrupulously the king's prejudices in other

matters; and even when checked by an adjournment, resolved unanimously to support him in any earnest effort for the Protestant cause. A warlike speech from a member at the close of the session in June roused an enthusiasm which recalled the days of Elizabeth. The commons answered the appeal by a unanimous vote, "lifting their hats as high as they could hold them," that for the recovery of the palatinate they would adventure their fortunes, their estates, and their lives. "Rather this declaration," cried a leader of the country party when it was read by the speaker, "than ten thousand men already on the march." For the moment, indeed, the energetic declaration seemed to give vigor to the royal policy. James had aimed throughout at the restitution of Bohemia to Ferdinand, and at inducing the emperor, through the mediation of Spain, to abstain from any retaliation on the palatinate. He now freed himself for a moment from the trammels of diplomacy, and enforced a cessation of the attack on his son-in-law's dominions by a threat of war. The suspension of arms lasted through the summer of 1621; but threats could do no more. Frederick still refused to make the concessions which James pressed on him, and the army of the league, advancing from Bohemia, drove the forces of the elector out of the upper or eastern portion of the palatinate. Again the general restoration which James was designing had been thrown further back than ever by a Catholic advance; but the king had no mind to take up the challenge. He was only driven the more on his old policy of mediation through the aid of

Spain. An end was put to all appearance of hostilities. The negotiations for the marriage with the infanta, which had never ceased, were pressed more busily. Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, who had become all-powerful at the English court, was assured that no effectual aid should be sent to the palatinate. The English fleet, which was cruising by way of menace off the Spanish coast, was called home. The king dismissed those of his ministers who still opposed a Spanish policy; and threatened, on trivial pretexts, a war with the Dutch, the one great Protestant power that remained in alliance with England, and was ready to back the elector.

967. But he had still to reckon with his parliament; and the first act of the parliament on its reassembling in November was to demand a declaration of war with Spain. The instinct of the nation was wiser than the statecraft of the king. Ruined and enfeebled as she really was, Spain to the world at large still seemed the champion of Catholicism. It was the entry of her troops into the palatinate which had widened the local war in Bohemia into a struggle for the suppression of Protestantism along the Rhine; above all, it was Spanish influence, and the hopes held out of a marriage of his son with a Spanish infanta, which were luring the king into his fatal dependence on the great enemy of the Protestant cause. But the commons went further than a demand for war. It was impossible any longer to avoid a matter so perilous to English interests, and in their petition the houses coupled with their demands for war the demand of a Protestant marriage

for their future king. Experience proved in later years how dangerous it was for English freedom that the heir to the crown should be brought up under a Catholic mother; but James was beside himself at the presumption of the commons in dealing with mysteries of state. "Bring stools for the ambassadors," he cried, in bitter irony, as their committee appeared before him. He refused the petition, forbade any further discussion of state policy, and threatened the speakers with the Tower. "Let us resort to our prayers," a member said calmly as the king's letter was read, "and then consider of this great business." The temper of the house was seen in a protestation with which it met the royal command to abstain from discussion. It resolved "that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England, and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and defense of the realm, and of the church of England, and the making and maintenance of laws, and redress of grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of council and debate in parliament. And that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses every member of the house hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same." The king answered the protestation by a characteristic outrage. He sent for the journals of the house, and with his own hand tore out the pages which contained it. "I will govern," he said, "according to

the common weal, but not according to the common will." A few days after, on the nineteenth of December, he dissolved the parliament.

968. "It is the best thing that has happened in the interests of Spain and of the Catholic religion since Luther began preaching," wrote the Count of Gondomar to his master, in his joy that all danger of war had passed away. "I am ready to depart," Sir Henry Savile, on the other hand, murmured on his death-bed, "the rather that having lived in good times I foresee worse." In the obstinacy with which he clung to his Spanish policy James stood indeed absolutely alone; for not only the old nobility and the statesmen who preserved the tradition of the age of Elizabeth, but even his own ministers, with the exception of Buckingham and the treasurer, Cranfield, were at one with the commons in their distrust of Spain. But James persisted in his plans. By the levy of a fresh benevolence he was able to keep Vere's force on foot for a few months while his diplomacy was at work in Germany and at Madrid. The palatinate, indeed, was lost in spite of his dispatches; but he still trusted to bring about its restitution to the elector through his influence with Spain. It was to secure this influence that he pressed for a closer union with the great Catholic power. What really bound him to such a foreign policy was his policy at home. If James cared for the restoration of the palatinate, he cared more for the system of government he had carried out since 1610; and with that system, as he well knew, parliaments were incompatible. But a policy of war would at once

throw him on the support of parliaments ; and the experience of 1621 had shown him at what a price that support must be bought. From war, too, as from any policy which implied a decided course of action, the temper of James shrank. What he clung to was a co-operation with Spain in which the burden of enforcing peace on the German disputants should fall exclusively on that power. Of such a co-operation the marriage of his son Charles with the infanta, which had so long been held out as a lure to his vanity, was to be the sign. But the more James pressed for this consummation of his projects, the more Spain held back. She, too, was willing to co-operate with James so long as such a co-operation answered her own purposes. Her statesmen had not favored the war in Germany ; even now they were willing to bring it to a close by the restoration of the palatinate. But they would not abandon the advantages which the war had given to Catholicism ; and their plan was to restore the palatinate, not to Frederick but to his son, and to bring up that son as a Catholic at Vienna. Of such a simple restoration of the religious and political balance in the empire as James was contemplating, the statesmen of Madrid thought no more than they thought of carrying out the scheme of a marriage with his son. Spain had already gained all she wanted from the marriage negotiations. They had held James from action ; they had now made action even less possible by supplying a fresh ground of quarrel with the house of commons. Had the match been likely to secure the conversion of England, or even a thorough toler-

ation for Catholics, it might have been possible to consent to the union of a Spanish princess with a heretic. But neither result seemed probable; and the Spanish court saw no gain in such a union as would compensate it for the loss of the palatinate or the half-million which James counted on as the dowry of the bride.

969. But the more Spain hung back, the hotter grew the impatience of Buckingham and James. At last the young favorite proposed to force the Spaniard's hand by the appearance of Prince Charles himself at Madrid. To the wooer in person Buckingham believed Spain would not dare to refuse either infanta or palatinate. James was too shrewd to believe in such a delusion, but in spite of his opposition the prince quitted England in disguise in 1623, and at the beginning of March he appeared with Buckingham at Madrid to claim his promised bride. It was in vain that the Spanish court rose in its demands, for every new demand was met by fresh concessions on the part of England. The abrogation of the penal laws against the worship of Catholics in private houses, a Catholic education for the prince's children, a Catholic household for the infanta, the erection of a Catholic church for her at court, to which access should be free for all comers, were stipulations no sooner asked than they were granted. "We are building a chapel to the devil," said James when the last condition was laid before him; but he swore to the treaty and forced his councilors to swear to it. The marriage, however, was no nearer than before. The one thing which would



have made it possible was a conversion of Charles to Catholicism; and though the prince listened silently to arguments on the subject, he gave no sign of becoming a Catholic. The aim of the Spanish ministers was to break off the match without a quarrel. They could only throw themselves on a policy of delay, and with this view the court theologians decided that the infanta must in any case stay in Spain for a year after its conclusion till the conditions were fully carried out. Against such a condition Charles remonstrated in vain. And meanwhile the influence of the new policy on the war in Germany was hard to see. The Catholic league and its army, under the command of Count Tilly, won triumph after triumph over their divided foes. The reduction of Heidelberg and Mannheim completed the conquest of the palatinate, whose elector fled helplessly to Holland, while his electoral dignity was transferred by the emperor to the Duke of Bavaria. But there was still no sign of the hoped-for intervention on the part of Spain. At last the pressure of Charles on the subject of the palatinate brought about a disclosure of the secret of Spanish policy. "It is a maxim of state with us," the Duke of Olivarez confessed, as the prince demanded an energetic interference in Germany, "that the King of Spain must never fight against the emperor. We cannot employ our forces against the emperor." "If you hold to that," replied the prince, "there is an end of all." Quitting Madrid, he found a fleet at Santander, and on the 5th of October he again landed with Buckingham on the shores of England.

970. His return was the signal for a burst of national joy. All London was alight with bonfires in her delight at the failure of the Spanish match, and of the collapse, humiliating as it was, of a policy which had so long trailed English honor at the chariot-wheels of Spain. War seemed at last inevitable; for not only did James's honor call for some effort to win back the palatinate for his daughter's children, but the resentment of Charles and Buckingham was ready to bear down any reluctance of the king. From the moment of their return, indeed, the direction of English affairs passed out of the hands of James into those of the favorite and the prince. Charles started on his task of government with the aid of a sudden burst of popularity. To those who were immediately about him, the journey to Madrid had revealed the strange mixture of obstinacy and weakness in the prince's character, the duplicity which lavished promises because it never purposed to be bound by any, the petty pride that subordinated every political consideration to personal vanity or personal pique. Charles had granted demand after demand till the very Spaniards lost faith in his concessions. With rage in his heart at the failure of his efforts, he had renewed his betrothal on the very eve of his departure only that he might insult the infanta by its contemptuous withdrawal as soon as he was safe at home. But to England at large the baser features of his character were still unknown. The stately reserve, the personal dignity and decency of manners, which distinguished the prince, contrasted favorably with the gabble and indecorum of

his father. The courtiers, indeed, who saw him in his youth would often pray God that "he might be in the right way when he was set; for if he were in the wrong, he would prove the most wilful of any king that ever reigned." But the nation was willing to take his obstinacy for firmness; as it took the pique which inspired his course on the return from Spain for patriotism and for the promise of a nobler rule.

971. At the back of Charles stood the favorite, Buckingham. The policy of James had recoiled upon its author. In raising his favorites to the height of honor, James had looked to being at last an independent king. He had broken with parliaments, he had done away with the old administrative forms of government, that his personal rule might act freely through these creatures of his will. And now that his policy had reached its end, his will was set aside more ruthlessly than ever by the very instrument he had created to carry it out. In his zeal to establish the greatness of the monarchy, he had brought on the monarchy a humiliation such as it had never known. Church, or baronage, or commons had many times in our history forced a king to take their policy for his own; but never had a mere minister of the crown been able to force his policy on a king. This was what Buckingham set himself to do. The national passion, the prince's support, his own quick energy, bore down the hesitation and reluctance of James. The king still clung desperately to peace. He still shrank from parliaments. But Buckingham overrode every difficulty. In February, 1624, James

was forced to meet a parliament, and to concede the point on which he had broken with the last by laying before it the whole question of the Spanish negotiation. Buckingham and the prince gave their personal support to a demand of the houses for a rupture of the treaties with Spain and a declaration of war. A subsidy was eagerly voted; and as if to mark a new departure in the policy of the Stuarts, the persecution of the Catholics, which had long been suspended out of deference to Spanish intervention, began with new vigor. The favorite gave a fresh pledge of his constitutional aims by consenting to a new attack on a minister of the crown. The lord treasurer, Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, had done much by his management of the finances to put the royal revenues on a better footing. But he was the head of the Spanish party; and he still urged the king to cling to Spain and to peace. Buckingham and Charles, therefore, looked coldly on while he was impeached for corruption and dismissed from office.

972. Though James was swept along helplessly by the tide, his shrewdness saw clearly the turn that affairs were taking; and it was only by hard pressure that the favorite succeeded in wresting his consent to Cranfield's disgrace. "You are making a rod for your own back," said the king. But Buckingham and Charles persisted in their plans of war. That these were utterly different from the plans of the parliament troubled them little. What money the commons had granted, they had granted on condition that the war should be exclusively a war against

Spain, and a war waged as exclusively by sea. Their good sense shrank from plunging into the tangled and intricate medley of religious and political jealousies which was turning Germany into a hell. What they saw to be possible was to aid German Protestantism by lifting off it the pressure of the armies of Spain. That Spain was most assailable on the sea the ministers at Madrid knew as well as the leaders of the commons. What they dreaded was not a defeat in the palatinate, but the cutting off of their fleets from the Indies and a war in that new world which they treasured as the fairest flower of their crown. A blockade of Cadiz or a capture of Hispaniola would have produced more effect at the Spanish council-board than a dozen English victories on the Rhine. But such a policy had little attraction for Buckingham. His flighty temper exulted in being the arbiter of Europe, in weaving fanciful alliances, in marshalling imaginary armies. A treaty was concluded with Holland, and negotiations set on foot with the Lutheran princes of North Germany, who had looked coolly on at the ruin of the elector palatine, but were scared at last into consciousness of their own danger. Yet more important negotiations were opened for an alliance with France. To restore the triple league of France, England, and Holland was to restore the system of Elizabeth. Such a league would, in fact, have been strong enough to hold in check the house of Austria and save German Protestantism, while it would have hindered France from promoting and profiting by German disunion, as it did under Richelieu. But, as

of old, James could understand no alliance that rested on merely national interests. A dynastic union seemed to him the one sure basis for joint action; and the plan for a French alliance became a plan for marriage with a French princess.

973. The plan suited the pride of Charles and of Buckingham. But the first whispers of it woke opposition in the commons. They saw the danger of a Roman Catholic queen. They saw yet more keenly the danger of pledges of toleration given to a foreign government, pledges which would furnish it with continual pretexts for interfering in the civil government of the country. Such an interference would soon breed on either side a mood for war. Before making these grants, therefore, they had called for a promise that no such pledges should be given, and as a subsidy hung on his consent, James had solemnly promised this. But it was soon found that France was as firm on this point as Spain; and that toleration for the Catholics was a necessary condition of any marriage treaty. The pressure of Buckingham and Charles was again brought to bear upon the king. The promise was broken and the marriage treaty was signed. Its difficulties were quick to disclose themselves. It was impossible to call parliament again together at winter-tide, while such perfidy was fresh; and the subsidies, which had been counted on, could not be asked for. But a hundred schemes were pushed busily on, and 12,000 Englishmen were gathered under an adventurer, Count Mansfield, to march to the Rhine. They reached Holland only to find themselves

without supplies and to die of famine and disease.

974. If the blow fell lightly on the temper of the favorite, it fell heavily on the king. James was already sinking to the grave, and in the March of 1625 he died with the consciousness of failure. Even his sanguine temper was broken at last. He had struggled with the parliament, and the parliament was stronger than ever. He had broken with Puritanism, and England was growing more Puritan every day. He had claimed for the crown authority such as it had never known, and the commons had impeached and degraded his ministers. He had raised up dependents to carry out a purely personal rule, and it was a favorite who was now treading his will under foot. He had staked everything on his struggle with English freedom, and the victory of English freedom was well-nigh won. James had himself destroyed that enthusiasm of loyalty which had been the main strength of the Tudor throne. He had disenchanted his people of their blind faith in the monarchy by a policy both at home and abroad which ran counter to every national instinct. He had alienated alike the noble, the gentleman, and the trader. In his feverish desire for personal rule he had ruined the main bulwarks of the monarchy. He had destroyed the authority of the council. He had accustomed men to think lightly of the ministers of the crown, to see them browbeaten by favorites, and driven from office for corruption. He had degraded the judges and weakened the national reverence for their voice as an expression of law. He had turned

the church into a mere engine for carrying out the royal will. And meanwhile he had raised up in the very face of the throne a power which was strong enough to cope with it. He had quarreled with and insulted the houses as no English sovereign had ever done before; and all the while the authority he boasted of was passing, without his being able to hinder it, to the parliament which he outraged. There was shrewdness as well as anger in his taunt at its "ambassadors." A power had at last risen up in the commons with which the monarchy was to reckon. In spite of the king's petulant outbreaks parliament had asserted with success its exclusive right of taxation. It had suppressed monopolies. It had reformed abuses in the courts of law. It had impeached and driven from office the highest ministers of the crown. It had asserted its privilege of freely discussing all questions connected with the welfare of the realm. It had claimed to deal with the question of religion. It had even declared its will on the sacred "mystery" of foreign policy. The utter failure of the schemes of James at home can only be realized by comparing the attitude of the houses at his death with their attitude during the last years of Elizabeth. Nor was his failure less abroad than at home. He had found England among the greatest of European powers. He had degraded her into a satellite of Spain. And now from a satellite he had dropped to the position of a dupe. In one plan alone could he believe himself successful. If his son had missed the hand of a Spanish infanta, he had gained the hand of a daughter of France.



But the one success of James was the most fatal of all his blunders; for in the marriage with Henrietta Maria lay the doom of his race. It was the fierce and despotic temper of the Frenchwoman that was to nerve Charles more than all to his fatal struggle against English liberty. It was her bigotry—as the commons foresaw—that undermined the Protestantism of her sons. It was when the religious and the political temper of Henrietta mounted the throne in James the Second that the full import of the French marriage was seen in the downfall of the Stuarts.

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## CHAPTER V.

### CHARLES I. AND THE PARLIAMENT.

1625—1629.

975. HAD Charles mounted the throne on his return from Spain, his accession would have been welcomed by a passionate burst of enthusiasm. He had aired himself as a stanch Protestant who had withstood Catholic seduction, and had come to nerve his father to a policy at one with the interests of religion and with the national will. But the few months that had passed since the last session of parliament had broken the spell of this heroic attitude. The real character of the part which Charles had played in Spain was gradually becoming known. It was seen that he had been as faithless to Protestantism as his revenge had made him faithless to the *infanta*. Nor had he shown less perfidy in dealing

with England itself. In common with his father, he had promised that his marriage with a princess of France should in no case be made conditional on the relaxation of the penal laws against the Catholics. It was suspected, and the suspicion was soon to be changed into certainty, that in spite of this promise such a relaxation had been stipulated, and that a foreign power had again been given the right of intermeddling in the civil affairs of the realm. The general distrust of the new king was intensified by the conduct of the war. In granting its subsidies the parliament of 1624 had restricted them to the purposes of a naval war, and that a war with Spain. It had done this after discussing and rejecting the wider schemes of the favorite for an intervention of England by land in the war of the palatinate. But the grants once made, Buckingham's plans had gone on without a check. Alliances had been formed, subsidies promised to Denmark, and 12,000 men actually dispatched to join the armies on the Rhine. It was plain that the policy of the crown was to be as unswayed by the will of the nation as in the days of King James. What it was really to be swayed by was the self-sufficient incapacity of the young favorite.

976. A few months of action had shown Buckingham to England as he really was, vain, flighty, ingenious, daring, a brilliant but shallow adventurer, without political wisdom or practical ability, as little of an administrator as of a statesman. While projects without number were seething and simmering in his restless brain, while leagues were being

formed and armies levied on paper, the one practical effort of the new minister had ended in the starvation of thousands of Englishmen on the sands of Holland. If English policy was once more to become a real and serious thing, it was plain that the great need of the nation was the dismissal of Buckingham. But Charles clung to Buckingham more blindly than his father had done. The shy reserve, the slow, stubborn temper of the new king, found relief in the frank gayety of the favorite, in his rapid suggestions, in the defiant daring with which he set aside all caution and opposition. James had looked on Buckingham as his pupil. Charles clung to him as his friend. Nor was the new king's policy likely to be more national in church affairs than in affairs of state. The war had given a new impulse to religious enthusiasm. The patriotism of the Puritan was strengthening his bigotry. To the bulk of Englishmen a fight with Spain meant a fight with Catholicism; and the fervor against Catholicism without, roused a corresponding fervor against Catholicism within the realm. To Protestant eyes every English Catholic seemed a traitor at home, a traitor who must be watched and guarded against as the most dangerous of foes. A Protestant who leaned toward Catholic usage or Catholic dogma was yet more formidable. To him men felt as toward a secret traitor in their own ranks. But it was to men with such leanings that Charles seemed disposed to show favor. Bishop Laud was recognized as the center of that varied opposition to Puritanism, whose members were loosely grouped under the

name of Arminians; and Laud now became the king's adviser in ecclesiastical matters. With Laud at its head the new party grew in boldness as well as numbers. It naturally sought for shelter for its religious opinions by exalting the power of the crown; and its union of political error with theological heresy seemed to the Puritans to be at last proclaimed to the world when Montague, a court chaplain, ventured to slight the Reformed churches of the continent in favor of the church of Rome, and to advocate in his sermon the real presence in the sacrament and a divine right in kings.

977. The houses had no sooner met in the May of 1625 than their temper in religious matters was clear to every observer. "Whatever mention does break forth of the fears and dangers in religion and the increase of popery," wrote a member who was noting the proceedings of the commons, "their affections are much stirred." The first act of the lower house was to summon Montague to its bar and to commit him to prison. In their grants to the crown they showed no ill-will, indeed, but they showed caution. They suspected that the pledge of making no religious concessions to France had been broken. They knew that the conditions on which the last subsidy had been granted had been contemptuously set aside. In his request for a fresh grant, Charles showed the same purpose of carrying out his own policy, without any regard for the national will, by simply asking for supplies for the war without naming a sum or giving any indication of what war it was to support. The reply of the commons was to

grant £140,000. A million would hardly cover the king's engagements, and Charles was bitterly angered. He was angered yet more by the delay in granting the permanent revenue of the crown. The commons had no wish to refuse their grant of tonnage and poundage, or the main customs duties, which had ever since Edward the Fourth's day been granted to each new sovereign for his life. But the additional impositions laid by James on these duties required further consideration, and to give time for a due arrangement of this vexed question the grant of the customs was made for a year only. But the limitation at once woke the jealousy of Charles. He looked on it as a restriction of the rights of the crown, refused to accept the grant on such a condition, and adjourned the houses. When they met again at Oxford it was in a sterner temper, for Charles had shown his defiance of parliament by drawing Montague from prison, by promoting him to a royal chaplaincy, and by levying the disputed customs without authority of law. "England," cried Sir Thomas Philips, "is the last monarchy that yet retains her liberties. Let them not perish now." But the commons had no sooner announced their resolve to consider public grievances before entering on other business than they were met in August by a dissolution.

978. To the shallow temper of Buckingham the cautious firmness of the commons seemed simply the natural discontent which follows on ill success. If he dissolved the houses, it was in the full belief that their constitutional demands could be

lulled by a military triumph. His hands were no sooner free than he sailed for the Hague to conclude a general alliance against the house of Austria, while a fleet of ninety vessels and 10,000 soldiers left Plymouth in October for the coast of Spain. But these vast projects broke down before Buckingham's administrative incapacity. The plan of alliance proved fruitless. After an idle descent on Cadiz the Spanish expedition returned, broken with mutiny and disease; and the enormous debt which had been incurred in its equipment forced the favorite to advise a new summons of the houses in the coming year. But he was keenly alive to the peril in which his failure had plunged him, and to a coalition which had been formed between his rivals at court and the leaders of the last parliament. The older nobles looked to his ruin to restore the power of the council; and in this the leaders of the commons went with them. Buckingham's reckless daring led him to anticipate the danger by a series of blows which should strike terror into his opponents. The councilors were humbled by the committal of Lord Arundel to the Tower. Sir Richard Philips, Coke, and four other leading patriots were made sheriffs of their counties, and thus prevented from sitting in the coming parliament.

979. But their exclusion only left the field free for a more terrible foe. If Hampden and Pym are the great figures which embody the later national resistance, the earlier struggle for parliamentary liberty centers in the figure of Sir John Eliot. Of an old family which had settled under Elizabeth

near the fishing hamlet of St. Germain's, and whose stately mansion gives its name of Port Eliot to a little town on the Tamar, he had risen to the post of vice-admiral of Devonshire under the patronage of Buckingham, and had seen his activity in the suppression of piracy in the channel rewarded by an unjust imprisonment. He was now in the first vigor of manhood, with a mind exquisitely cultivated and familiar with the poetry and learning of his day, a nature singularly lofty and devout, a fearless and vehement temper. There was a hot, impulsive element in his nature which showed itself in youth in his drawing sword on a neighbor who denounced him to his father, and which in later years gave its characteristic fire to his eloquence. But his intellect was as clear and cool as his temper was ardent. What he believed in was the English parliament. He saw in it the collective wisdom of the realm; and in that wisdom he put a firmer trust than in the statecraft of kings. In the general enthusiasm which followed on the failure of the Spanish marriage, Eliot had stood almost alone in pressing for a recognition of the rights of parliament as preliminary to any real reconciliation with the crown. He fixed, from the very outset of his career, on the responsibility of the royal ministers to parliament as the one critical point for English liberty.

980. It was to enforce the demand of this that he availed himself of Buckingham's sacrifice of the treasurer, Cranfield, to the resentment of the commons. "The greater the delinquent," he urged, "the greater the derelict. They are a happy thing,

great men and officers, if they be good, and one of the greatest blessings of the land: but power converted into evil is the greatest curse that can befall it." But the parliament of 1626 had hardly met when Eliot came to the front to threaten a greater criminal than Cranfield. So menacing were his words, as he called for an inquiry into the failure before Cadiz, that Charles himself stooped to answer threat with threat. "I see," he wrote to the house, "you especially aim at the Duke of Buckingham. I must let you know that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned among you, much less such as are of eminent place and near to me." A more direct attack on a right already acknowledged in the impeachment of Bacon and Cranfield could hardly be imagined, but Eliot refused to move from his constitutional ground. The king was by law irresponsible, he "could do no wrong." If the country, therefore, was to be saved from a pure despotism, it must be by enforcing the responsibility of the ministers who counseled and executed his acts. Eliot persisted in denouncing Buckingham's incompetence and corruption, and the commons ordered the subsidy which the crown had demanded to be brought in "when we shall have presented our grievances, and received his majesty's answer thereto." Charles summoned them to Whitehall, and commanded them to cancel the condition. He would grant them "liberty of counsel, but not of control;" and he closed the interview with a significant threat. "Remember," he said, "that parliaments are altogether in my power for



their calling, sitting, and dissolution; and, therefore, as I find the fruits of them to be good or evil, they are to continue or not to be." But the will of the commons was as resolute as the will of the king. Buckingham's impeachment was voted and carried to the lords.

981. The favorite took his seat as a peer to listen to the charge with so insolent an air of contempt that one of the managers appointed by the commons to conduct it turned sharply on him. "Do you jeer, my lord?" said Sir Dudley Digges. "I can show you when a greater man than your lordship—as high as you in place and power, and as deep in the king's favor—has been hanged for as small a crime as these articles contain." But his arrogance raised a more terrible foe than Sir Dudley Digges. The "proud carriage" of the duke provoked an attack from Eliot which marks a new era in parliamentary speech. From the first the vehemence and passion of his words had contrasted with the grave, colorless reasoning of older speakers. His opponents complained that Eliot aimed to "stir up affections." The quick emphatic sentences he substituted for the cumbrous periods of the day, his rapid argument, his vivacious and caustic allusions, his passionate appeals, his fearless invective, struck a new note in English eloquence. The frivolous ostentation of Buckingham, his very figure blazing with jewels and gold, gave point to the fierce attack. "He has broken those nerves and sinews of our land, the stores and treasures of the king. There needs no search for it. It is too visible. His profuse ex-

penses, his superfluous feasts, his magnificent buildings, his riots, his excesses, what are they but the visible evidences of an express exhausting of the state, a chronicle of the immensity of his waste of the revenues of the crown?" With the same terrible directness Eliot reviewed the duke's greed and corruption, his insatiate ambition, his seizure of all public authority, his neglect of every public duty, his abuse for selfish ends of the powers he had accumulated. "The pleasure of his majesty, his known directions, his public acts, his acts of council, the decrees of courts—all must be made inferior to this man's will. No right, no interest, may withstand him. Through the power of state and justice he has dared ever to strike at his own ends." "My lords," he ended, after a vivid parallel between Buckingham and Sejanus, "you see the man! What have been his actions, what he is like, you know! I leave him to your judgment. This only is conceived by us, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the commons house of parliament, that by him came all our evils, in him we find the causes, and on him must be the remedies! *Pereat qui perdere cuncta festinat! Opprimatur ne omnes opprimat!*

982. In calling for Buckingham's removal, the houses were but exercising a right or a duty which was inherent in their very character of counselors of the crown. There had never been a time from the earliest days of the English parliament when it had not called for the dismissal of evil advisers. What had in older time been done by risings of the baronage had been done since the houses

gathered at Westminster by their protests as representatives of the realm. They were far from having dreamed, as yet, of the right which parliament exercises to-day of naming the royal ministers, nor had they any wish to meddle with the common administration of government. It was only in exceptional instances of evil counsels, when some favorite like Buckingham broke the union of the nation and the king, that they demanded a change. To Charles, however, their demand seemed a claim to usurp his sovereignty. His reply was as fierce and sudden as the attack of Eliot. He hurried to the house of peers to avow as his own the deeds with which Buckingham was charged; while Eliot and Digges were called from their seats and committed prisoners to the Tower. The commons, however, refused to proceed with public business till their members were restored; and after a ten-days' struggle Eliot was released. But his release was only a prelude to the close of the parliament. "Not one moment," the king replied to the prayer of his council for delay; and a final remonstrance in which the commons begged him to dismiss Buckingham from his service forever was met on the 16th of June by their instant dissolution. The remonstrance was burned by royal order; Eliot was deprived of his vice-admiralty; and on the old pretext alleged by James for evading the law, the pretext that what it forbade was the demand of forced gifts and not of voluntary loans to the crown, the subsidies which the parliament had refused to grant till their grievances were redressed were levied in the arbitrary form of benevolences.

983. But the tide of public resistance was slowly rising. Refusals to give anything "save by way of parliament" came in from county after county. When the subsidy men of Middlesex and Westminster were urged to comply, they answered with a tumultuous shout of "a parliament! a parliament! else no subsidies!" Kent stood out to a man. In Bucks the very justices neglected to ask for the "free gift." The freeholders of Cornwall only answered that, "if they had but two kine, they would sell one of them for supply to his majesty—in a parliamentary way." The failure of the voluntary benevolence forced Charles to pass from evasion into open defiance of the law. He met it in 1627 by the levy of a forced loan. It was in vain that Chief Justice Crewe refused to acknowledge that such loans were legal. The law was again trampled under foot, as in the case of his predecessor, Coke; and Crewe was dismissed from his post. Commissioners were named to assess the amount which every landowner was bound to lend, and to examine on oath all who refused. Every means of persuasion, as of force, was resorted to. The pulpits of the Laudian clergy resounded with the cry of "passive obedience." Dr. Mainwaring preached before Charles himself that the king needed no parliamentary warrant for taxation, and that to resist his will was to incur eternal damnation. Soldiers were quartered on recalcitrant boroughs. Poor men who refused to lend were pressed into the army or navy. Stubborn tradesmen were flung into prison. Buckingham himself undertook the task of overawing the nobles

and the gentry. Among the bishops, the primate and Bishop Williams, of Lincoln, alone resisted the king's will. The first was suspended on a frivolous pretext, and the second was disgraced. But in the country at large resistance was universal. The northern counties in a mass set the crown at defiance. The Lincolnshire farmers drove the commissioners from the town. Shropshire, Devon, and Warwickshire "refused utterly." Eight peers, with Lord Essex and Lord Warwick at their head, declined to comply with the exaction as illegal. Two hundred country gentlemen, whose obstinacy had not been subdued by their transfer from prison to prison, were summoned before the council; and John Hampden, as yet only a young Buckinghamshire squire, appeared at the board to begin that career of patriotism which has made his name dear to Englishmen. "I could be content to lend," he said, "but fear to draw on myself that curse in Magna Charta, which should be read twice a year against those who infringe it." So close an imprisonment in the Gate house rewarded his protest "that he never afterward did look like the same man he was before."

984. The fierce energy with which Buckingham pressed the forced loan was no mere impulse of angry tyranny. Never was money so needed by the crown. The blustering and blundering of the favorite had at last succeeded in plunging him into war with his own allies. England had been told that the friendship of France, a friendship secured by the king's marriage with a French princess, was the

basis on which Charles was building up his great European alliance against Spain. She now suddenly found herself at war with Spain and France together. The steps by which this result had been brought about throw an amusing light on the capacity of the young king and his minister. The occupation of the palatinate had forced France to provide for its own safety. Spain already fronted her along the Pyrenees and the border of the Netherlands; if the palatinate was added to the Spanish possession of Franche-Comté, it would close France in on the east as well as the north and the south. War, therefore, was being forced on the French monarchy when Charles and Buckingham sought its alliance against Spain; and nothing hindered an outbreak of hostilities but a revolt of the Protestant town of Rochelle. Louis the Thirteenth pleaded the impossibility of engaging in such a struggle so long as the Huguenots could rise in his rear; and he called on England to help him by lending ships to blockade Rochelle into submission in time for action in the spring of 1625. The prince and Buckingham brought James to assent; but Charles had no sooner mounted the throne than he shrank from sending ships against a Protestant city, and secretly instigated the crews to mutiny against their captains on an order to sail. The vessels, it was trusted, would then arrive too late to take part in the siege. Unluckily for this intrigue, they arrived to find the city still in arms, and it was the appearance of English ships among their enemies which forced the men of Rochelle to submit. While Englishmen were anger-

ed by the use of English vessels against Protestantism, France resented the king's attempt to evade his pledge. Its court resented yet more the hesitation which Charles showed in face of his parliament in fulfilling the promise he had given in the marriage treaty of tolerating Catholic worship; and its resentment was imbibited by an expulsion from the realm of the French attendants on the new queen, a step to which Charles was at last driven by their insolence and intrigues. On the other hand, French statesmen were offended by the seizure of French ships charged with carrying materials of war to the Spaniards, and by an attempt of the English sovereign to atone for his past attack on Rochelle by constituting himself mediator of a peace on behalf of the Huguenots.

985. But though grounds of quarrel multiplied every day, the French minister, Richelieu, had no mind for strife. He was now master of the Catholic faction which had fed the dispute between the crown and the Huguenots with the aim of bringing about a reconciliation with Spain; he saw that in the European conflict which lay before him the friendship or the neutrality of England were all but essential; and though he gathered a fleet in the channel and took a high tone of remonstrance, he strove by concession after concession to avert war. But on war Buckingham was resolved. Of policy in any true sense of the word the favorite knew nothing; for the real interest of England or the balance of Europe he cared little; what he saw before him was the chance of a blow at a power he had come to

hate, and the chance of a war which would make him popular at home. The mediation of Charles in favor of Rochelle had convinced Richelieu that the complete reduction of that city was a necessary prelude to any effective intervention in Germany. If Louis was to be master abroad, he must first be master at home. But it was hard for lookers on to read the cardinal's mind or to guess with what a purpose he resolved to exact submission from the Huguenots. In England, where the danger of Rochelle seemed a fresh part of the Catholic attack upon Protestantism throughout the world, the enthusiasm for the Huguenots was intense; and Buckingham resolved to take advantage of this enthusiasm to secure such a triumph for the royal arms as should silence all opposition at home. It was for this purpose that the forced loan was pushed on; and in July, 1627, a fleet of a hundred vessels sailed under Buckingham's command for the relief of Rochelle. But imposing as was his force, Buckingham showed himself as incapable a soldier as he had proved a statesman. The troops were landed on the isle of Rhé, in front of the harbor; but after a useless siege of the castle of St. Martin, the English soldiers were forced in October to fall back along a narrow causeway to their ships, and 2000 fell in the retreat without the loss of a single man to their enemies.

986. The first result of the failure at Rhé was the summoning of a new parliament. Overwhelmed as he was with debt and shame, Charles was forced to call the houses together again in the spring of 1628.



The elections promised ill for the court. Its candidates were everywhere rejected. The patriot leaders were triumphantly returned. To have suffered in the recent resistance to arbitrary taxation was the sure road to a seat. It was this question which absorbed all others in men's minds. Even Buckingham's removal was of less moment than the redress of personal wrongs; and some of the chief leaders of the commons had not hesitated to bring Charles to consent to summon parliament by promising to abstain from attacks on Buckingham. Against such a resolve Eliot protested in vain. But on the question of personal liberty the tone of the commons, when they met in March, was as vehement as that of Eliot. "We must vindicate our ancient liberties," said Sir Thomas Wentworth in words soon to be remembered against himself; "we must reinforce the laws made by our ancestors. We must set such a stamp upon them as no licentious spirit shall dare hereafter to invade them." Heedless of sharp and menacing messages from the king, of demands that they should take his "royal word" for their liberties, the house bent itself to one great work, the drawing up a petition of right. The statutes that protected the subject against arbitrary taxation, against loans and benevolences, against punishment, outlawry, or deprivation of goods, otherwise than by lawful judgment of his peers, against arbitrary imprisonment without stated charge, against billeting of soldiery on the people or enactment of martial law in time of peace, were formally recited. The breaches of them under the

last two sovereigns, and, above all, since the dissolution of the last parliament, were recited as formally. At the close of this significant list, the commons prayed "that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament. And that none be called to make answer, or to take such oaths, or to be confined or otherwise molested or disputed concerning the same, or for refusal thereof. And that no freeman may in such manner as is before mentioned be imprisoned or detained. And that your majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burdened in time to come. And that the commissions for proceeding by martial law may be revoked and annulled, and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever to be executed as aforesaid, lest by color of them any of your majesty's subjects be destroyed and put to death, contrary to the laws and franchises of the land. All which they humbly pray of your most excellent majesty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of the realm. And that your majesty would also vouchsafe to declare that the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people in any of the premises shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example. And that your majesty would be pleased graciously, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure that in the things aforesaid all your officers

and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honor of your majesty and the prosperity of the kingdom."

987. It was in vain that the lords strove to conciliate Charles by a reservation of his "sovereign power." "Our petition," Pym quietly replied, "is for the laws of England, and this power seems to be another power distinct from the power of the law." The lords yielded, but Charles gave an evasive reply; and the failure of the more moderate counsels, for which his own had been set aside, called Eliot again to the front. In a speech of unprecedented boldness he moved the presentation to the king of a remonstrance on the state of the realm. But at the moment when he again touched on Buckingham's removal as the preliminary of any real improvement, the speaker of the house interposed. "There was a command laid on him," he said, "to interrupt any that should go about to lay an aspersion on the king's ministers." The breach of their privilege of free speech produced a scene in the commons such as St. Stephen's had never witnessed before. Eliot sat abruptly down amid the solemn silence of the house. "Then appeared such a spectacle of passions," says a letter of the time, "as the like had seldom been seen in such an assembly; some weeping, some expostulating, some prophesying of the fatal ruin of our kingdom, some playing the divines in confessing their sins and country's sins which drew these judgments upon us, some finding, as it were, fault with those that wept. There were above an hundred weeping eyes, many who offered to speak

being interrupted and silenced by their own passions." Pym himself rose only to sit down choked with tears. At last Sir Edward Coke found words to blame himself for the timid counsels which had checked Eliot at the beginning of the session, and to protest "that the author and source of all those miseries was the Duke of Buckingham." Shouts of assent greeted the resolution to insert the duke's name in their remonstrance. But at this moment the king's obstinacy gave away. A fresh expedition, which had been sent to Rochelle, returned unsuccessful; and if the siege was to be raised, far greater and costlier efforts must be made. And that the siege should be raised Buckingham was still resolved. All his energies were now enlisted in this project; and to get supplies for his fleet he bent the king to consent in June to the petition of right. As Charles understood it, indeed, the consent meant little. The one point for which he really cared was the power of keeping men in prison without bringing them to trial or assigning causes for their imprisonment. On this he had consulted his judges; and they had answered that his consent to the petition left his rights untouched; like other laws, they said, the petition would have to be interpreted when it came before them, and the prerogative remained unaffected. As to the rest, while waiving all claim to levy taxes not granted by parliament, Charles still reserved his right to levy impositions paid customarily to the crown, and amongst these he counted tonnage and poundage. Of these reserves, however, the commons knew nothing. The king's consent won a grant of

subsidy, and such a ringing of bells and lighting of bonfires from the people "as were never seen but upon his majesty's return from Spain."

988. But, like all the king's concessions, it came too late to effect the end at which he aimed. The commons persisted in presenting their remonstrance. Charles received it coldly and ungraciously; while Buckingham, who had stood defiantly at his master's side as he was denounced, fell on his knees to speak. "No, George," said the king as he raised him; and his demeanor gave emphatic proof that the duke's favor remained undiminished. "We will perish together, George," he added at a later time, "if thou dost." He had, in fact, got the subsidies which he needed; and it was easy to arrest all proceedings against Buckingham by proroguing parliament at the close of June. The duke himself cared little for a danger which he counted on drowning in the blaze of a speedy triumph. He had again gathered a strong fleet and a fine body of men, and his ardent fancy already saw the harbor of Rochelle forced and the city relieved. No shadow of his doom had fallen over the brilliant favorite when he set out in August to take command of the expedition. But a lieutenant in the army, John Felton, soured by neglect and wrongs, had found in the remonstrance some imaginary sanction for the revenge he plotted; and mixing with the throng which crowded the hall at Portsmouth, he stabbed Buckingham to the heart. Charles flung himself on his bed in a passion of tears when the news reached him; but outside the court it was welcomed with a burst of joy. Young Oxford

bachelors, grave London aldermen, vied with each other in drinking healths to Felton. "God bless thee, little David," cried an old woman, as the murderer passed manacled by. "The Lord comfort thee," shouted the crowd, as the Tower gates closed on him. The very forces in the duke's armament at Portsmouth shouted to the king, as he witnessed their departure, a prayer that he would "spare John Felton, their sometime fellow-soldier." But whatever national hopes the fall of Buckingham had aroused were quickly dispelled. Weston, a creature of the duke, became lord treasurer, and his system remained unchanged. "Though our Achan is cut off," said Eliot, "the accursed thing remains."

989. It seemed as if no act of Charles could widen the breach which his reckless lawlessness had made between himself and his subjects. But there was one thing dearer to England than free speech in parliament, than security for property, or even personal liberty; and that one thing was, in the phrase of the day, "the gospel." The gloom which at the outset of this reign we saw settling down on every Puritan heart had deepened with each succeeding year. The great struggle abroad had gone more and more against Protestantism, and at this moment the end of the cause seemed to have come. In Germany, Lutheran and Calvinist alike lay at last beneath the heel of the Catholic house of Austria. The fall of Rochelle, which followed quick on the death of Buckingham, seemed to leave the Huguenots of France at the feet of a Roman cardinal. In such a time as this, while England was thrilling with ex-

citement at the thought that her own hour of deadly peril might come again, as it had come in the year of the Armada, the Puritans saw with horror the quick growth of Arminianism at home. Laud was now bishop of London as well as the practical administrator of church affairs, and to the excited Protestantism of the country, Laud and the churchmen whom he headed seemed a danger more really formidable than the popery which was making such mighty strides abroad. To the Puritans they were traitors, traitors to God and their country at once. Their aim was to draw the church of England farther away from the Protestant churches, and nearer to the church which Protestants regarded as Babylon. They aped Roman ceremonies. Cautiously and tentatively they were introducing Roman doctrine. But they had none of the sacerdotal independence which Rome had at any rate preserved. They were abject in their dependence on the crown. Their gratitude for the royal protection which enabled them to defy the religious instincts of the realm showed itself in their erection of the most dangerous pretensions of the monarchy into religious dogmas. Their model, Bishop Andrewes, had declared James to have been inspired by God. They preached passive obedience to the worst tyranny. They declared the person and goods of the subject to be at the king's absolute disposal. They were turning religion into a systematic attack on English liberty, nor was their attack to be lightly set aside. Up to this time they had been little more than a knot of courtly parsons, for the mass of the clergy, like their flocks, were steady

Puritans, but the well-known energy of Laud and the open patronage of the court promised a speedy increase of their numbers and their power. It was significant that upon the prorogation of 1628 Montague had been made a bishop, and Mainwaring, who had called parliaments ciphers in the state, had been rewarded with a fat living. Instances such as these would hardly be lost on the mass of the clergy, and sober men looked forward to a day when every pulpit would be ringing with exhortations to passive obedience, with denunciations of Calvinism and apologies for Rome.

990. Of all the members of the house of commons, Eliot was least fanatical in his natural bent, but the religious crisis swept away for the moment all other thoughts from his mind. "Danger enlarges itself in so great a measure," he wrote from the country, "that nothing but heaven shrouds us from despair." When the commons met again in January, 1629, they met in Eliot's temper. The first business called up was that of religion. The house refused to consider any question of supplies, or even that of tonnage and poundage, which still remained unsettled, though Charles had persisted in levying these duties without any vote of parliament, till the religious grievance was discussed. "The gospel," Eliot burst forth, "is that truth in which this kingdom has been happy through a long and rare prosperity. This ground, therefore, let us lay for a foundation of our building, that that truth, not with words, but with actions we will maintain!" "There is a ceremony," he went on, "used in the eastern churches, of stand-



ing at the repetition of the creed, to testify their purpose to maintain it, not only with their bodies upright, but with their swords drawn. Give me leave to call that a custom very commendable!" The commons answered their leader's challenge by a solemn avowal. They avowed that they held for truth that sense of the articles as established by parliament, which by the public act of the church, and the general and current exposition of the writers of their church, had been delivered unto them. It is easy to regard such an avowal as a mere outburst of Puritan bigotry, and the opposition of Charles as a defense of the freedom of religious thought. But the real importance of the avowal both to king and commons lay in its political significance. In the mouth of the commons it was a renewal of the claim that all affairs of the realm, spiritual as well as temporal, were cognizable in parliament. To Charles it seemed as if the commons were taking to themselves, in utter defiance of his rights as governor of the church, "the interpretation of articles of religion; the deciding of which in doctrinal points," to use his own words, "only appertaineth to the clergy and convocation." To use more modern phrases, the king insisted that the nation should receive its creed at the hands of the priesthood and the crown. England, in the avowal of parliament, asserted that the right to determine the belief of a nation lay with the nation itself.

991. But the debates over religion were suddenly interrupted. In granting the petition of right we have seen that Charles had no purpose of parting

with his power of arbitrary arrest or of levying customs. Both practices, in fact, went on as before, and the goods of merchants who refused to pay tonnage and poundage were seized as of old. At the reopening of the session, indeed, the king met the commons with a proposal that they should grant him tonnage and poundage, and pass silently over what had been done by his officers. But the house was far from assenting to the interpretation which Charles had put on the petition, and was resolved to vindicate what it held to be the law. It deferred all grant of customs till the wrong done in the illegal levy of them was redressed, and summoned the farmers of those dues to the bar. But though they appeared, they pleaded the king's command as a ground for their refusal to answer. The house was proceeding to a protest, when, on the 2d of March, the speaker signified that he had received an order to adjourn. Dissolution was clearly at hand, and the long-suppressed indignation broke out in a scene of strange disorder. The speaker was held down in the chair, while Eliot, still clinging to his great principle of ministerial responsibility, denounced the new treasurer as the adviser of the measure. "None have gone about to break parliaments," he added in words to which after events gave a terrible significance, "but in the end parliaments have broken them." The doors were locked, and in spite of the speaker's protests, of the repeated knocking of the usher at the door, and the gathering tumult within the house itself, the loud "aye, aye !" of the bulk of the members supported Eliot in his

last vindication of English liberty. By successive resolutions the commons declared whosoever should bring in innovations in religion, or whatever minister indorsed the levy of subsidies not granted in parliament, "a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth," and every subject voluntarily complying with illegal acts and demands "a betrayer of the liberty of England, and an enemy of the same."

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## CHAPTER VI.

### THE PERSONAL GOVERNMENT.

1629—1635.

992. AT the opening of his third parliament, Charles had hinted in ominous words that the continuance of parliament at all depended on its compliance with his will. "If you do not your duty," said the king, "mine would then order me to use those other means which God has put into my hand." When the threat failed to break the resistance of the commons the ominous words passed into a settled policy. "We have showed," said a proclamation which followed on the dissolution of the houses, on the 10th of March, "by our frequent meeting our people, our love to the use of parliament. Yet the late abuse having for the present drawn us unwillingly out of that course, we shall account it presumption for any to prescribe any time unto us for parliament."

993. No parliament, in fact, met for eleven years.

But it would be unfair to charge the king at the outset of this period with any definite scheme of establishing a tyranny, or of changing what he conceived to be the older constitution of the realm. He "hated the very name of parliaments;" but in spite of his hate he had as yet no purpose of abolishing them. His belief was that England would in time recover its senses, and that then parliament might reassemble without inconvenience to the crown. In the interval, however long it might be, he proposed to govern single-handed by the use of "those means which God had put into his hands." Resistance, indeed, he was resolved to put down. The leaders of the country party in the last parliament were thrown into prison; and Eliot died, the first martyr of English liberty, in the Tower. Men were forbidden to speak of the reassembling of a parliament. But here the king stopped. The opportunity, which might have suggested dreams of organized despotism to a Richelieu, suggested only means of filling his exchequer to Charles. He had, in truth, neither the grander nor the meaner instincts of a born tyrant. He did not seek to gain an absolute power over his people, because he believed that his absolute power was already a part of the constitution of the country. He set up no standing army to secure it, partly because he was poor, but yet more because his faith in his position was such that he never dreamed of any effectual resistance. He believed implicitly in his own prerogative, and he never doubted that his subjects would in the end come to believe in it too. His system rested not on force, but on a moral

basis, on an appeal from opinion ill-informed to opinion, as he looked on it, better-informed. What he relied on was not the soldier, but the judge. It was for the judges to show from time to time the legality of his claims, and for England at last to bow to the force of conviction.

994. He was resolute, indeed, to free the crown from its dependence on parliament; but his expedients for freeing the crown from a dependence against which his pride as a sovereign revolted were simply peace and economy. With France an accommodation had been brought about in 1629 by the fall of Rochelle. The terms which Richelieu granted to the defeated Huguenots showed the real drift of his policy; and the reconciliation of the two countries set the king's hands free to aid Germany in her hour of despair. The doom of the Lutheran princes of the north had followed hard on the ruin of the Calvinistic princes of the south. The selfish neutrality of Saxony and Brandenburg received a fitting punishment in their helplessness before the triumphant advance of the emperor's troops. His general, Wallenstein, encamped on the Baltic; and the last hopes of German Protestantism lay in the resistance of Stralsund. The danger called the Scandinavian powers to its aid. Denmark and Sweden leagued to resist Wallenstein; and Charles sent a squadron to the Elbe, while he called on Holland to join in a quadruple alliance against the emperor. Richelieu promised to support the alliance with a fleet; and even the withdrawal of Denmark, bribed into neutrality by the restitution of her possessions on the

mainland, left the force of the league an imposing one. Gustavus of Sweden remained firm in his purpose of entering Germany, and appealed for aid to both England and France. But at this moment the dissolution of the parliament left Charles penniless. He at once resolved on a policy of peace, refused aid to Gustavus, withdrew his ships from the Baltic, and opened negotiations with Spain, which brought about a treaty at the end of 1630 on the virtual basis of an abandonment of the palatinate. Ill luck clung to Charles in peace as in war. He had withdrawn from his efforts to win back the dominions of his brother-in-law at the very moment when those efforts were about to be crowned with success. The treaty with Spain was hardly concluded when Gustavus landed in Germany and began his wonderful career of victory. Charles at once strove to profit by his success; and in 1631 he suffered the Marquis of Hamilton to join the Swedish king with a force of Scotch and English regiments. After some service in Silesia, this force aided in the battle of Breitenfeld, and followed Gustavus in his reconquest of the palatinate. But the conqueror demanded, as the price of its restoration to Frederick, that Charles should again declare war upon Spain; and this was a price that the king would not pay. The danger in Germany was over; the power of France and of Holland threatened the supremacy of England on the seas, and even had these reasons not swayed him to friendship with Spain, Charles was stubborn not to plunge into a combat which would again force him to summon a parliament.

995. What absorbed his attention at home was the question of the revenue. The debt was a large one; and the ordinary income of the crown, unaided by parliamentary supplies, was inadequate to meet its ordinary expenditure. Charles himself was frugal and laborious; and the economy of Weston, the new lord treasurer, whom he raised to the earldom of Portland, contrasted advantageously with the waste and extravagance of the government under Buckingham. But economy failed to close the yawning gulf of the treasury, and the course into which Charles was driven by the financial pressure showed with how wise a prescience the commons had fixed on the point of arbitrary taxation as the chief danger to constitutional freedom. It is curious to see to what shifts the royal pride was driven in its effort at once to fill the exchequer, and yet to avoid, as far as it could, any direct breach of constitutional law in the imposition of taxes by the sole authority of the crown. The dormant powers of the prerogative were strained to their utmost. The right of the crown to force knighthood on the landed gentry was revived, in order to squeeze them into composition for the refusal of it. Fines were levied on them for the redress of defects in their title-deeds. A commission of the forests exacted large sums from the neighboring landowners for their encroachments on crown lands. Three hundred thousand pounds were raised by this means in Essex alone. London, the special object of courtly dislike, on account of its stubborn Puritanism, was brought within the sweep of royal extortion by the enforcement of an

illegal proclamation which James had issued, prohibiting its extension. Every house throughout the large suburban districts, in which the prohibition had been disregarded, was only saved from demolition by the payment of three years' rental to the crown. The treasury gained £100,000 by this clever stroke, and Charles gained the bitter enmity of the great city whose strength and resources were fatal to him in the coming war. Though the Catholics were no longer troubled by any active persecution, and the lord treasurer was in heart a papist, the penury of the exchequer forced the crown to maintain the old system of fines for "recusancy."

996. Vexatious measures of extortion such as these were far less hurtful to the state than the conversion of justice into a means of supplying the royal necessities by means of the Star-chamber. The jurisdiction of the king's council had been revived by Wolsey as a check on the nobles; and it had received great development, especially on the side of criminal law, during the Tudor reigns. Forgery, perjury, riot, maintenance, fraud, libel, and conspiracy were the chief offenses cognizable in this court, but its scope extended to every misdemeanor, and especially to charges where, from the imperfection of the common law, or the power of offenders, justice was baffled in the lower courts. Its process resembled that of chancery; it usually acted on an information laid before it by the king's attorney. Both witnesses and accused were examined on oath by special interrogatories, and the court was at liberty to adjudge any punishment



short of death. The possession of such a weapon would have been fatal to liberty under a great tyrant, under Charles it was turned simply to the profit of the exchequer. Large numbers of cases which would ordinarily have come before the courts of common law were called before the Star-chamber, simply for the purpose of levying fines for the crown. The same motive accounts for the enormous penalties which were exacted for offenses of a trivial character. The marriage of a gentleman with his niece was punished by the forfeiture of £12,000, and fines of £4000 and £5000 were awarded for brawls between lords of the court. Fines such as these, however, affected a smaller range of sufferers than the financial expedient to which Weston had recourse in the renewal of monopolies. Monopolies, abandoned by Elizabeth, extinguished by act of parliament under James, and denounced with the assent of Charles himself in the petition of right, were again set on foot, and on a scale far more gigantic than had been seen before; the companies who undertook them paying a fixed duty on their profits as well as a large sum for the original concession of the monopoly. Wine, soap, salt, and almost every article of domestic consumption fell into the hands of monopolists, and rose in price out of all proportion to the profit gained by the crown. "They sup in our cup," Colepepper said afterward in the Long parliament, "they dip in our dish; they sit by our fire; we find them in the dye-fat, the wash-bowls, and the powdering tub. They share with the cutler in his box. They have marked and sealed us from head to foot."

997. In spite of the financial expedients we have described, the treasury would have remained unfilled had not the king persisted in those financial measures which had called forth the protest of the parliament. The exaction of customs duties went on as of old at the ports. The resistance of the London merchants to their payment was roughly put down by the Star-chamber; and an alderman who complained bitterly that men were worse off in England than in Turkey was ruined by a fine of £2000. Writs for benevolences, under the old pretext of loans, were issued for every shire. But the freeholders of the counties were more difficult to deal with than London aldermen. When those of Cornwall were called together at Bodmin to contribute to a voluntary loan, half the hundreds refused, and the yield of the rest came to little more than £2000. One of the Cornishmen has left an amusing record of the scene which took place before the commissioners appointed for assessment of the loan. "Some with great words and threatenings, some with persuasions," he says, "were drawn to it. I was like to have been complimented out of my money; but, knowing with whom I had to deal, I held, when I talked with them, my hands fast in my pockets."

998. By means such as these the financial difficulty was in some measure met. During Weston's five years of office the debt, which had mounted to £1,600,000, was reduced by one half. On the other hand, the annual revenue of the crown was raised from £500,000 to £800,000. Nor was there much sign of active discontent. Vexatious, indeed, and

illegal as were the proceedings of the crown, there seems in these earlier years of personal rule to have been little apprehension of any permanent danger to freedom in the country at large. To those who read the letters of the time there is something inexpressibly touching in the general faith of their writers in the ultimate victory of the law. Charles was obstinate, but obstinacy was too common a foible among Englishmen to rouse any vehement resentment. The people were as stubborn as their king, and their political sense told them that the slightest disturbance of affairs must shake down the financial fabric which Charles was slowly building up, and force him back on subsidies and a parliament. Meanwhile they would wait for better days, and their patience was aided by the general prosperity of the country. The great continental wars threw wealth into English hands. The intercourse between Spain and Flanders was carried on solely in English ships, and the English flag covered the intercourse of Portugal with its colonies in Africa, India, and the Pacific. The long peace was producing its inevitable results in an extension of commerce and a rise of manufactures in the towns of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Fresh land was being brought into cultivation, and a great scheme was set on foot for reclaiming the fens. The new wealth of the country gentry, through the increase of rent, was seen in the splendor of the houses which they were raising. The contrast of this peace and prosperity with the ruin and bloodshed of the continent afforded a ready argument to the friends of the king's system. So

tranquil was the outer appearance of the country that in court circles all sense of danger had disappeared. "Some of the greatest statesmen and privy councilors," says May, "would ordinarily laugh when the word 'liberty of the subject,' was named." There were courtiers bold enough to express their hope that "the king would never need any more parliaments."

999. But beneath this outer calm "the country," Clarendon honestly tells us, while eulogizing the peace, "was full of pride and mutiny and discontent." Thousands were quitting England for America. The gentry held aloof from the court. "The common people in the generality and the country freeholders would rationally argue of their own rights and the oppressions which were laid upon them." If Charles was content to deceive himself, there was one man among his ministers who saw that the people were right in their policy of patience, and that unless other measures were taken, the fabric of despotism would fall at the first breath of adverse fortune. Sir Thomas Wentworth, a great Yorkshire landowner and one of the representatives of his county in parliament, had stood during the parliament of 1628 among the more prominent members of the country party in the commons. But he was no Eliot. He had no faith in parliaments, save as means of checking exceptional misgovernment. He had no belief in the general wisdom of the realm, or in its value, when represented by the commons, as a means of bringing about good government. Powerful as his mind was, it was arrogant and con-

contemptuous; he knew his own capacity for rule, and he looked with scorn on the powers or wits of meaner men. He was a born administrator; and, like Bacon, he panted for an opportunity of displaying his talent in what then seemed the only sphere of political action. From the first moment of his appearance in public, his passionate desire had been to find employment in the service of the crown. At the close of the preceding reign he was already connected with the court; he had secured a seat in Yorkshire for one of the royal ministers, and was believed to be on the high road to a peerage. But the consciousness of political ability which spurred his ambition roused the jealousy of Buckingham; and the haughty pride of Wentworth was flung, by repeated slights, into an attitude of opposition, which his eloquence—grander in its sudden outbursts, though less earnest and sustained than that of Eliot—soon rendered formidable. His intrigues at court roused Buckingham to crush, by a single insult, the rival whose genius he instinctively dreaded. While sitting in his court as sheriff of Yorkshire, Wentworth received the announcement of his dismissal from office, and of the gift of his post to Sir John Savile, his rival in the county. "Since they will thus weakly breathe on me a seeming disgrace in the public face of my country," he said, with a characteristic outburst of contemptuous pride, "I shall crave leave to wipe it away as openly, as easily!" His whole conception of a strong and able rule revolted against the miserable government of the favorite, his maladministration at home, his failures and disgraces abroad. Went-

worth's aim was to force on the king, not such a freedom as Eliot longed for, but such a system as the Tudors had clung to, where a large and noble policy placed the sovereign naturally at the head of the people, and where parliaments sank into mere aids to the crown. But before this could be, Buckingham, and the system of blundering misrule that he embodied, must be cleared away. It was with this end that Wentworth sprang to the front of the commons in urging the petition of right. Whether, in that crisis of his life, some nobler impulse, some true passion for the freedom he was to trample under foot, mingled with his thirst for revenge, it is hard to tell. But his words were words of fire. "If he did not faithfully insist for the common liberty of the subject to be preserved whole and entire," it was thus he closed one of his speeches on the petition, "it was his desire that he might be set as a beacon on a hill for all men else to wonder at."

1000. It is as such a beacon that his name has stood from that time to this. He had shown his powers to good purpose; and at the prorogation of the parliament he passed into the service of the crown. He became president of the council of the north, a court set up in limitation of the common law, and which wielded almost unbounded authority beyond the Humber. In 1629 the death of Buckingham removed the obstacle that stood between his ambition and the end at which it had aimed throughout. All pretense to patriotism was set aside; Wentworth was admitted to the royal council; and as he took his seat at the board, he

promised to "vindicate the monarchy forever from the conditions and restraints of subjects." So great was the faith in his zeal and power which he knew how to breathe into his royal master, that he was at once raised to the peerage, and placed with Laud in the first rank of the king's councilors. Charles had good ground for this rapid confidence in his new minister. In Wentworth the very genius of tyranny was embodied. He soon passed beyond the mere aim of restoring the system of the Tudors. He was far too clear-sighted to share his master's belief that the arbitrary power which Charles was wielding formed any part of the old constitution of the country, or to dream that the mere lapse of time would so change the temper of Englishmen as to reconcile them to despotism. He knew that absolute rule was a new thing in England, and that the only way of permanently establishing it was, not by reasoning, or by the force of custom, but by the force of fear. His system was the expression of his own inner temper; and the dark, gloomy countenance, the full, heavy eye, which meet us in Strafford's portrait are the best commentary on his policy of "thorough." It was by the sheer strength of his genius, by the terror his violence inspired amid the meaner men whom Buckingham had left, by the general sense of his power, that he had forced himself upon the court. He had none of the small arts of a courtier. His air was that of a silent, proud, passionate man; and, when he first appeared at Whitehall, his rough, uncourtly manners provoked a smile in the royal circle. But the smile soon died into a general hate. The

queen, frivolous and meddlesome as she was, detested him; his fellow-ministers intrigued against him, and seized on his hot speeches against the great lords, his quarrels with the royal household, his transports of passion at the very council table, to ruin him in his master's favor. The king himself, while steadily supporting him against his rivals, was utterly unable to understand his drift. Charles valued him as an administrator, disdainful of private ends, crushing great and small, with the same haughty indifference to men's love or hate, and devoted to the one aim of building up the power of the crown. But, in his purpose of preparing for the great struggle with freedom which he saw before him, of building up, by force, such a despotism in England as Richelieu was building up in France, and of thus making England as great in Europe as France had been made by Richelieu, he could look for little sympathy and less help from the king.

1001. Wentworth's genius turned impatiently to a sphere where it could act alone, untrammelled by the hindrances it encountered at home. His purpose was to prepare for the coming contest by the provision of a fixed revenue, arsenals, fortresses, and a standing army, and it was in Ireland that he resolved to find them. Till now this miserable country had been but a drain on the resources of the crown. Under the administration of Mountjoy's successor, Sir Arthur Chichester, an able and determined effort had been made for the settlement of the conquered province, by the general introduction of a purely English system of government, justice, and property. Every ves-



tige of the old Celtic constitution of the country was rejected as "barbarous." The tribal authority of the chiefs was taken from them by law. They were reduced to the position of great nobles and landowners, while their tribesmen rose from subjects into tenants, owing only fixed and customary dues and services to their lords. The tribal system of property in common was set aside, and the communal holdings of the tribesmen turned into the copyholds of English law. In the same way the chieftains were stripped of their hereditary jurisdiction, and the English system of judges and trial by jury, substituted for their proceedings under Brehon or customary law. To all these changes the Celts opposed the tenacious obstinacy of their race. Irish juries, then as now, refused to convict. Glad as the tribesmen were to be freed from the arbitrary exactions of their chiefs, they held them for chieftains still. The attempt made by Chichester, under pressure from England, to introduce the English uniformity of religion ended in utter failure; for the Englishry of the Pale remained as Catholic as the native Irishry; and the sole result of the measure was to build up a new Irish people out of both on the common basis of religion. Much, however, had been done by the firm, yet moderate government of the deputy, and signs were already appearing of a disposition on the part of the people to conform gradually to the new usages, when the English council under James suddenly resolved upon and carried through the revolutionary measure which is known as the colonization of Ulster. In 1610 the pacific

and conservative policy of Chichester was abandoned for a vast policy of spoliation. Two thirds of the north of Ireland was declared to have been confiscated to the crown by the part that its possessors had taken in a recent effort at revolt; and the lands which were thus gained were allotted to new settlers of Scotch and English extraction. In its material results, the plantation of Ulster was undoubtedly a brilliant success. Farms and homesteads, churches and mills, rose fast amid the desolate wilds of Tyrone. The corporation of London undertook the colonization of Derry, and gave to the little town the name which its heroic defense had made so famous. The foundations of the economic prosperity which has raised Ulster high above the rest of Ireland in wealth and intelligence were undoubtedly laid in the confiscation of 1610. Nor did the measure meet with any opposition at the time, save that of secret discontent. The evicted natives withdrew sullenly to the lands which had been left them by the spoiler, but all faith in English justice had been torn from the minds of the Irishry, and the seed had been sown of that fatal harvest of distrust and disaffection which was to be reaped through tyranny and massacre in the age to come.

1002. But the bitter memories of conquest and spoliation only pointed out Ireland to Wentworth as the best field for his experiment. The balance of Catholic against Protestant might be used to make both parties dependent on the royal authority; the rights of conquest, which in Wentworth's theory vested the whole land in the absolute possession of the

crown, gave him scope for his administrative ability; and for the rest he trusted, and trusted justly, to the force of his genius and of his will. In the summer of 1633 he sailed as lord deputy to Ireland, and five years later his aim seemed almost realized. "The king," he wrote to Laud, "is as absolute here as any prince in the world can be." The government of the new deputy, indeed, was a rule of terror. Archbishop Usher, with almost every name which we can respect in the island, was the object of his insult and oppression. His tyranny strode over all legal bounds. Wentworth is the one English statesman of all time who may be said to have had no sense of law; and his scorn of it showed itself in his coercion of juries as of parliaments. The highest of the Irish nobles learned to tremble when a few insolent words, construed as mutiny, were enough to bring Lord Mountmorris before a council of war, and to inflict on him a sentence of death. But his tyranny aimed at public ends, and in Ireland the heavy hand of a single despot delivered the mass of the people, at any rate, from the local despotism of a hundred masters. The Irish landowners were for the first time made to feel themselves amenable to the law. Justice was enforced, outrage was repressed, the condition of the clergy was to some extent raised, the sea was cleared of the pirates who infested it. The foundation of the linen manufacture, which was to bring wealth to Ulster, and the first development of Irish commerce, date from the lieutenancy of Wentworth. Good government, however, was only a means with him for further

ends. The noblest work to be done in Ireland was the bringing about a reconciliation between Catholic and Protestant, and an obliteration of the anger and thirst for vengeance which had been raised by the Ulster plantation. Wentworth, on the other hand, angered the Protestants by a toleration of Catholic worship and a suspension of the persecution which had feebly begun against the priesthood, while he fed the irritation of the Catholics by urging in 1635 a new plantation of Connaught. His purpose was to encourage a disunion which left both parties dependent for support and protection on the crown. It was a policy which was to end in bringing about the horrors of the Irish revolt, the vengeance of Cromwell, and the long series of atrocities on both sides which make the story of the country he ruined so terrible to tell. But for the hour, it left Ireland helpless in his hands. He doubled the revenue. He raised an army. To provide for its support he ventured, in spite of the panic with which Charles heard of his project, to summon in 1634 an Irish Parliament. His aim was to read a lesson to England and the king by showing how completely that dreaded thing, a parliament, could be made an organ of the royal will; and his success was complete. The task of overawing an Irish parliament, indeed, was no very difficult one. Two thirds of its house of commons consisted of the representatives of wretched villages which were pocket-boroughs of the crown, while absent peers were forced to intrust their proxies to the council to be used at its pleasure. But precautions were hardly needed. The two houses

trembled at the stern master who bade their members not let the king "find them muttering, or, to speak it more truly, mutinying in corners," and voted with a perfect docility the means of maintaining an army of five thousand foot and five hundred horse. Had the subsidy been refused, the result would have been the same. "I would undertake," wrote Wentworth, "upon the peril of my head, to make the king's army able to subsist and provide for itself among them without their help."

1003. While Strafford was thus working out his system of "thorough" on one side of St. George's channel, it was being carried out on the other by a mind inferior, indeed, to his own in genius, but almost equal to it in courage and tenacity. Cold, pedantic, superstitious as he was (he notes in his diary the entry of a robin-redbreast into his study as a matter of grave moment), William Laud rose out of the mass of court-prelates by his industry, his personal unselfishness, his remarkable capacity for administration. At a later period, when immersed in state business, he found time to acquire so complete a knowledge of commercial affairs that the London merchants themselves owned him a master in matters of trade. Of statesmanship, indeed, he had none. The shrewdness of James had read the very heart of the man when Buckingham pressed for his first advancement to the see of St. David's. "He hath a restless spirit," said the old king, "which cannot see when things are well, but loves to toss and change, and to bring matters to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain. Take him with

you, but, by my soul, you will repent it." But Laud's influence was really derived from this oneness of purpose. He directed all the power of a clear, narrow mind and a dogged will to the realization of a single aim. His resolve was to raise the church of England to what he conceived to be its real position as a branch, though a reformed branch, of the great Catholic church throughout the world; protesting alike against the innovations of Rome and the innovations of Calvin, and basing its doctrines and usages on those of the Christian communion in the centuries which preceded the Council of Nice. The first step in the realization of such a theory was the severance of whatever ties had hitherto united the English church to the reformed churches of the continent. In Laud's view, episcopal succession was of the essence of a church; and by their rejection of bishops the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches of Germany and Switzerland had ceased to be churches at all. The freedom of worship, therefore, which had been allowed to the Huguenot refugees from France, or the Walloons from Flanders, was suddenly withdrawn; and the requirement of conformity with the Anglican ritual drove them in crowds from the southern ports to seek toleration in Holland. The same conformity was required from the English soldiers and merchants abroad, who had hitherto attended without scruple the services of the Calvinistic churches. The English ambassador in Paris was forbidden to visit the Huguenot conventicle at Charenton.

1004. As Laud drew further from the Protestants

of the continent, he drew, consciously or unconsciously, nearer to Rome. His theory owned Rome as a true branch of the church, though severed from that of England by errors and innovations against which the primate vigorously protested. But with the removal of these obstacles reunion would naturally follow; and his dream was that of bridging over the gulf which ever since the reformation had parted the two churches. The secret offer of a cardinal's hat proved Rome's sense that Laud was doing his work for her; while his rejection of it, and his own reiterated protestations, prove equally that he was doing it unconsciously. Union with the great body of Catholicism, indeed, he regarded as a work which only time could bring about, but for which he could prepare the church of England by raising it to a higher standard of Catholic feeling and Catholic practice. The great obstacle in his way was the Puritanism of nine tenths of the English people, and on Puritanism he made war without mercy. Till 1633, indeed, his direct range of action was limited to his own diocese of London, though his influence with the king enabled him in great measure to shape the general course of the government in ecclesiastical matters. But on the death of Abbot, Laud was raised to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and no sooner had his elevation placed him at the head of the English church, than he turned the high commission into a standing attack on the Puritan ministers. Rectors and vicars were scolded, suspended, deprived for "gospel preaching." The use of the surplice, and the ceremonies most offensive to

Puritan feeling, were enforced in every parish. The lectures founded in towns, which were the favorite posts of Puritan preachers, were rigorously suppressed. They found a refuge among the country gentlemen, and the archbishop withdrew from the country gentlemen the privilege of keeping chaplains, which they had till then enjoyed. As parishes became vacant the high church bishops had long been filling them with men who denounced Calvinism, and declared passive obedience to the sovereign to be part of the law of God. The Puritans felt the stress of this process, and endeavored to meet it by buying up the appropriations of livings, and securing through feoffs a succession of Protestant ministers in the parishes of which they were patrons; but in 1633 Laud cited the feoffees into the Star-chamber, and roughly put an end to them.

1005. Nor was the persecution confined to the clergy. Under the two last reigns the small pocket-Bibles called the Geneva Bibles had become universally popular among English laymen; but their marginal notes were found to savor of Calvinism, and their importation was prohibited. The habit of receiving the communion in a sitting posture had become common, but kneeling was now enforced, and hundreds were excommunicated for refusing to comply with the injunction. A more galling means of annoyance was found in the different views of the two religious parties on the subject of Sunday. The Puritans identified the Lord's day with the Jewish Sabbath, and transferred to the one the strict observances which were required for the other. The



Laudian clergy, on the other hand, regarded it simply as one among the holidays of the church, and encouraged their flocks in the pastimes and recreations after service which had been common before the reformation. The crown, under James, had taken part with the latter, and had issued a "Book of Sports" which recommended certain games as lawful and desirable on the Lord's day. The parliament, as might be expected, was stoutly on the other side, and had forbidden Sunday pastimes by statute. The general religious sense of the country was undoubtedly tending to a stricter observance of the day, when Laud brought the contest to a sudden issue. He summoned the chief-justice, Richardson, who had enforced the statute in the western shires, to the council-table, and rated him so violently that the old man came out complaining he had been all but choked by a pair of lawn sleeves. He then ordered every minister to read the declaration in favor of Sunday pastimes from the pulpit. One Puritan minister had the wit to obey, and to close the reading with the significant hint, "You have heard read, good people, both the commandment of God and the commandment of man! Obey which you please." But the bulk refused to comply with the archbishop's will. The result followed at which Laud, no doubt, had aimed. Puritan ministers were cited before the high commission, and silenced or deprived. In the diocese of Norwich alone thirty parochial clergymen were expelled from their cures.

1006. The suppression of Puritanism in the ranks of the clergy was only a preliminary to the real work

on which the archbishop's mind was set, the preparation for Catholic reunion by the elevation of the clergy to a Catholic standard in doctrine and ritual. Laud publicly avowed his preference of an unmarried to a married priesthood. Some of the bishops, and a large part of the new clergy who occupied the posts from which the Puritan ministers had been driven, advocated doctrines and customs which the reformers had denounced as sheer papistry—the practice, for instance, of auricular confession, a real presence in the sacrament, or prayers for the dead. One prelate, Montagu, was in heart a convert to Rome. Another, Goodman, died acknowledging himself a papist. Meanwhile Laud was indefatigable in his efforts to raise the civil and political status of the clergy to the point which it had reached ere the fatal blow of the reformation fell on the priesthood. Among the archives of his see lies a large and costly volume in vellum, containing a copy of such records in the Tower as concerned the privileges of the clergy. Its compilation was entered in the archbishop's diary as one among the “twenty-one things which I have projected to do if God bless me in them,” and as among the fifteen to which before his fall he had been enabled to add this emphatic “done.” The power of the bishops' courts, which had long fallen into decay, revived under his patronage. In 1636, he was able to induce the king to raise a prelate, Juxon, Bishop of London, to the highest civil post in the realm, that of lord high treasurer. “No churchman had it since Henry the Seventh's time,” Laud comments proudly. “I pray

God bless him to carry it so that the church may have honor, and the state service and content by it. And now, if the church will not hold up themselves, under God I can do no more."

1007. And as Laud aimed at a more Catholic standard of doctrine in the clergy, so he aimed at a nearer approach to the pomp of Catholicism in public worship. His conduct in his own house at Lambeth brings out with singular vividness the reckless courage with which he threw himself across the religious instincts of a time when the spiritual aspect of worship was overpowering in most minds its esthetic and devotional sides. Men noted as a fatal omen an accident which marked his first entry into Lambeth; for the overladen ferry-boat upset in the passage of the river, and though the horses and servants were saved, the archbishop's coach remained at the bottom of the Thames. But no omen, carefully as he might note it, brought a moment's hesitation to the bold, narrow mind of the new primate. His first act, he boasted, was the setting about a restoration of his chapel; and, as Laud managed it, his restoration was a simple undoing of all that had been done there by his predecessors since the reformation. With characteristic energy he aided with his own hands in the replacement of the painted glass in its windows, and racked his wits in piecing the fragments together. The glazier was scandalized by the primate's express command to repair and set up again the "broken crucifix" in the east window. The holy table was removed from the center, and set altarwise against the eastern wall,

with a cloth of arras behind it, on which was embroidered the history of the last supper. The elaborate woodwork of the screen, the rich copes of the chaplain, the silver candlesticks, the credence table, the organ and the choir, the stately ritual, the bowings at the sacred name, the genuflections to the altar, made the chapel at last such a model of worship as Laud desired. If he could not exact an equal pomp of devotion in other quarters, he exacted as much as he could. Bowing to the altar was introduced into all cathedral churches. A royal injunction ordered the removal of the communion table, which for the last half-century or more had in almost every parish church stood in the middle of the nave, back to its pre-reformation position in the chancel, and secured it from profanation by a rail. The removal implied, and was understood to imply, a recognition of the real presence, and a denial of the doctrine which Englishmen generally held about the Lord's supper. But, strenuous as was the resistance which the archbishop encountered, his pertinacity and severity warred it down. Parsons who denounced the change from their pulpits were fined, imprisoned, and deprived of their benefices. Church-wardens who refused or delayed to obey the injunction were rated at the commission-table, and frightened into compliance.

1008. In their last remonstrance to the king the commons had denounced Laud as the chief assailant of the Protestant character of the church of England; and every year of his primacy showed him bent upon justifying the accusation. His policy was

no longer the purely conservative policy of Parker or Whitgift; it was aggressive and revolutionary. His "new counsels" threw whatever force there was in the feeling of conservatism into the hands of the Puritan, for it was the Puritan who seemed to be defending the old character of the church of England against its primate's attacks. But backed as Laud was by the power of the crown, the struggle became more hopeless every day. While the Catholics owned that they had never enjoyed a like tranquillity, while the fines for recusancy were reduced and their worship suffered to go on in private houses, the Puritan saw his ministers silenced or deprived, his Sabbath profaned, the most sacred act of his worship brought near, as he fancied, to the mass. Roman doctrine met him from the pulpit, Roman practices met him in the church. It was plain that the purpose of Laud aimed at nothing short of the utter suppression of Puritanism, in other words, of the form of religion which was dear to the mass of Englishmen. Already, indeed, there were signs of a change of temper which might have made a bolder man pause. Thousands of "the best" scholars, merchants, lawyers, farmers, were flying over the Atlantic to seek freedom and purity of religion in the wilderness. Great landowners and nobles were preparing to follow. Ministers were quitting their parsonages rather than abet the royal insult to the sanctity of the Sabbath. The Puritans who remained among the clergy were giving up their homes rather than consent to the change of the sacred table into an altar, or to silence in their protests against

the new popery. The noblest of living Englishmen refused to become the priest of a church whose ministry could only be "bought with servitude and forswearing."

1009. We have seen John Milton leave Cambridge, self-dedicated "to that same lot, however mean or high, to which time leads me and the will of heaven." But the lot to which these called him was not the ministerial office to which he had been destined from his childhood. In later life he told bitterly the story how he had been "church-outed by the prelates." "Coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded in the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which, unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either straight perjure or split his faith, I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing." In spite, therefore, of his father's regrets, he retired in 1633 to a new home which the scrivener had found at Horton, a village in the neighborhood of Windsor, and quietly busied himself with study and verse. The poetic impulse of the renaissance had been slowly dying away under the Stuarts. The stage was falling into mere coarseness and horror. Shakespeare had died quietly at Stratford in Milton's childhood; the last and worst play of Ben Jonson appeared in the year of his settlement at Horton; and though Ford and Massinger still lingered on, there were no successors for them but Shirley and Davenant. The philosophic and

meditative taste of the age had produced, indeed, poetic schools of its own; poetic satire had become fashionable in Hall, better known afterward as a bishop, and had been carried on vigorously by George Wither; the so-called "metaphysical" poetry, the vigorous and pithy expression of a cold and prosaic good sense, began with Sir John Davies and buried itself in fantastic affectations in Donne; religious verse had become popular in the gloomy allegories of Quarles, and the tender refinement which struggles through a jungle of puns and extravagances in George Herbert. But what poetic life really remained was to be found only in the caressing fancy and lively badinage of lyric singers like Herrick, whose grace is untouched by passion and often disfigured by coarseness and pedantry; or in the school of Spenser's more direct successors, where Browne in his pastorals and the two Fletchers, Phineas and Giles, in their unreadable allegories, still preserved something of their master's sweetness, if they preserved nothing of his power.

1010. Milton was himself a Spenserian; he owned to Dryden in later years that "Spenser was his original," and in some of his earliest lines at Horton he dwells lovingly on "the sage and solemn tones" of the "Faerie Queen," its "forests and enchantments drear, where more is meant than meets the ear." But of the weakness and affectation which characterized Spenser's successors he had not a trace. In the "Allegro" and "Penseroso," the first results of his retirement at Horton, we catch again the fancy and melody of the Elizabethan verse, the wealth of

its imagery, its wide sympathy with nature and man. There is a loss, perhaps, of the older freedom and spontaneity of the renaissance, a rhetorical rather than passionate turn in the young poet, a striking absence of dramatic power, and a want of subtle precision even in his picturesque touches. Milton's imagination is not strong enough to identify him with the world which he imagines; he stands apart from it, and looks at it as from a distance, ordering it and arranging it at his will. But if in this respect he falls both in his earlier and later poems below Shakespeare or Spenser, the deficiency is all but compensated by his nobleness of feeling and expression, the severity of his taste, his sustained dignity, and the perfectness and completeness of his work. The moral grandeur of the Puritan breathes, even in these lighter pieces of his youth, through every line. The "*Comus*," which he planned as a masque for some festivities which the Earl of Bridgewater was holding at Ludlow castle, rises into an almost impassioned pleading for the love of virtue.

1011. The historic interest of Milton's "*Comus*" lies in its forming part of a protest made by the more cultured Puritans at this time against the gloomier bigotry which persecution was fostering in the party at large. The patience of Englishmen, in fact, was slowly wearing out. There was a sudden upgrowth of virulent pamphlets of the old Martin Marprelate type. Men, whose names no one asked, hawked libels, whose authorship no one knew, from the door of the tradesman to the door of the squire. As the hopes of a parliament grew fainter, and men



despaired of any legal remedy, violent and weak-headed fanatics came, as at such times they always come, to the front. Leighton, the father of the saintly archbishop of that name, had given a specimen of their tone at the outset of this period by denouncing the prelates as men of blood, episcopacy as Antichrist, and the popish queen as a daughter of Heth. The "*Histriomastix*" of Prynne, a lawyer distinguished for his constitutional knowledge, but the most obstinate and narrow-minded of men, marked the deepening of Puritan bigotry under the fostering warmth of Laud's persecution. The book was an attack on players as the ministers of Satan, on theaters as the devil's chapels, on hunting, May-poles, the decking of houses at Christmas with evergreens, on cards, music, and false hair. The attack on the stage was as offensive to the more cultured minds among the Puritan party as to the court itself; Selden and Whitelock took a prominent part in preparing a grand masque by which the inns of court resolved to answer its challenge, and in the following year Milton wrote his masque of "*Comus*" for Ludlow castle. To leave Prynne, however, simply to the censure of wiser men than himself was too sensible a course for the angry primate. No man was ever sent to prison before or since for such a sheer mass of nonsense; but a passage in the book was taken as a reflection on the queen, who had purposed to take part in a play at the time of its publication; and the sentence showed the hard cruelty of the primate's temper. In 1634 Prynne was dismissed from the bar, deprived of his university de-

gree, and set in the pillory. His ears were clipped from his head, and the stubborn lawyer was then taken back to prison to be kept there during the king's pleasure.

1012. With such a world around them we can hardly wonder that men of less fanatical turn than Prynne gave way to despair. But it was in this hour of despair that the Puritans won their noblest triumph. They "turned," to use Canning's words in a far truer and grander sense than that which he gave to them, "they turned to the New World to redress the balance of the Old." It was during the years which followed the close of the third parliament of Charles that a great Puritan migration founded the states of New England.

1013. Raleigh's settlement on the Virginian coast, the first attempt which Englishmen had made to claim North America for their own, had soon proved a failure. The introduction of tobacco and the potato into Europe dates from his voyage of discovery, but the energy of his colonists was distracted by the delusive dream of gold; the hostility of the native tribes drove them from the coast, and it is through the gratitude of later times for what he strove to do, rather than for what he did, that Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina, preserves his name. The first permanent settlement on the Chesapeake was effected in the beginning of the reign of James the First, and its success was due to the conviction of the settlers that the secret of the New World's conquest lay simply in labor. Among the hundred and five colonists who originally landed, forty-eight were

gentlemen, and only twelve were tillers of the soil. Their leader, John Smith, however, not only explored the vast bay of Chesapeake and discovered the Potomac and the Susquehanna, but held the little company together in the face of famine and desertion till the colonists had learned the lesson of toil. In his letters to the colonizers at home he set resolutely aside the dream of gold. "Nothing is to be expected thence," he wrote of the new country, "but by labor;" and supplies of laborers, aided by a wise allotment of land to each colonist, secured after five years of struggle the fortunes of Virginia. "Men fell to building houses and planting corn;" the very streets of Jamestown, as their capital was called, from the reigning sovereign, were sown with tobacco; and in fifteen years the colony numbered 5000 souls.

1014. Only a few years after the settlement of Smith in Virginia, the church of Brownist or independent refugees, whom we saw driven in Elizabeth's reign to Amsterdam, resolved to quit Holland and find a home in the wilds of the New World. They were little disheartened by the tidings of suffering which came from the Virginian settlement. "We are well weaned," wrote their minister, John Robinson, "from the delicate milk of the mother-country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; the people are industrious and frugal. We are knit together as a body in a most sacred covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves strictly tied to all care of each

other's good and of the whole. It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage." Returning from Holland to Southampton, they started in two small vessels for the new land; but one of these soon put back, and only its companion, the *Mayflower*, a bark of 180 tons, with forty-one emigrants and their families on board, persisted in prosecuting its voyage. In 1620 the little company of the "Pilgrim fathers," as after-times loved to call them, landed on the barren coast of Massachusetts at a spot to which they gave the name of Plymouth, in memory of the last English port at which they touched. They had soon to face the long, hard winter of the north, to bear sickness and famine; even when these years of toil and suffering had passed there was a time when "they knew not at night where to have a bit in the morning." Resolute and industrious as they were, their progress was very slow, and at the end of ten years they numbered only 800 souls. But small as it was, the colony was now firmly established and the struggle for mere existence was over. "Let it not be grievous unto you," some of their brethren had written from England to the poor emigrants in the midst of their sufferings, "that you have been instrumental to break the ice for others. The honor shall be yours to the world's end."

1015. From the moment of their establishment the eyes of the English Puritans were fixed on this little Puritan settlement in North America. Through the early years of Charles, projects were being canvassed for the establishment of a new settlement beside the

little Plymouth; and the aid which the merchants of Boston in Lincolnshire gave to the realization of this project was acknowledged in the name of its capital. At the moment when he was dissolving his third parliament Charles granted the charter which established the colony of Massachusetts; and by the Puritans at large the grant was at once regarded as a providential call. Out of the failure of their great constitutional struggle and the pressing danger to "godliness" in England rose the dream of a land in the west where religion and liberty could find a safe and lasting home. The parliament was hardly dissolved when "conclusions" for the establishment of a great colony on the other side of the Atlantic were circulating among gentry and traders, and descriptions of the new country of Massachusetts were talked over in every Puritan household. The proposal was welcomed with the quiet, stern enthusiasm which marked the temper of the time; but the words of a well-known emigrant show how hard it was even for the sternest enthusiasts to tear themselves from their native land. "I shall call that my country," wrote the younger Winthrop in answer to feelings of this sort, "where I may most glorify God and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends." The answer was accepted, and the Puritan emigration began on a scale such as England had never before seen. The 200 who first sailed for Salem were soon followed by John Winthrop with 800 men; and 700 more followed ere the first year of personal government had run its course. Nor were the emigrants, like the earlier colonists of the South,

“broken men,” adventurers, bankrupts, criminals; or simply poor men and artisans, like the Pilgrim fathers of the *Mayflower*. They were in great part men of the professional and middle classes; some of them men of large landed estate, some zealous clergymen, like Cotton, Hooker, and Roger Williams, some shrewd London lawyers, or young scholars from Oxford. The bulk were God-fearing farmers from Lincolnshire and the eastern counties. They desired, in fact, “only the best” as sharers in their enterprise; men driven forth from their fatherland not by earthly want, or by the greed of gold, or by the lust of adventure, but by the fear of God, and the zeal for a godly worship. But strong as was their zeal, it was not without a wrench that they tore themselves from their English homes. “Farewell, dear England!” was the cry which burst from the first little company of emigrants as its shores faded from their sight. “Our hearts,” wrote Winthrop’s followers to the brethren whom they had left behind, “shall be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness.”

1016. For a while, as the first terrors of persecution died down, there was a lull in the emigration. But no sooner had Laud’s system made its pressure felt than again “godly people in England began to apprehend a special hand of providence in raising this plantation” in Massachusetts; “and their hearts were generally stirred to come over.” It was in vain that weaker men returned to bring news of hardships and dangers, and told how 200 of the

new-comers had perished with their first winter. A letter from Winthrop told how the rest toiled manfully on. "We now enjoy God and Jesus Christ," he wrote to those at home, "and is not that enough? I thank God I like so well to be here as I do not repent my coming. I would not have altered my course though I had foreseen all these afflictions. I never had more content of mind." With the strength and manliness of Puritanism, its bigotry and narrowness crossed the Atlantic too. Roger Williams, a young minister who held the doctrine of freedom of conscience, was driven from the new settlement to become a preacher among the settlers of Rhode Island. The bitter resentment stirred in the emigrants by persecution at home was seen in their abolition of episcopacy and their prohibition of the use of the book of common prayer. The intensity of its religious sentiments turned the colony into a theocracy. "To the end that the body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men, it was ordered and agreed that for the time to come no man shall be admitted to the freedom of the body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the bounds of the same." But the fiercer mood which persecution was begetting in the Puritans only welcomed this bigotry. As years went by and the contest grew hotter at home, the number of emigrants rose fast. Three thousand new colonists arrived from England in a single year. Between the sailing of Winthrop's expedition and the assembling of the Long parliament, in the space, that is, of ten or eleven years, 200 emigrant

ships had crossed the Atlantic, and 20,000 English men had found a refuge in the west.

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## CHAPTER VII

### THE RISING OF THE SCOTS.

1635—1640.

1017. WHEN Weston died in 1635, six years had passed without a parliament, and the crown was at the height of its power. Its financial difficulties seemed coming to an end. The long peace, the rigid economy of administration, the use of forgotten rights and vexatious monopolies, had now halved the amount of debt, while they had raised the revenue to a level with the royal expenditure. Charles had no need of subsidies; and without the need of subsidies he saw no ground for again encountering the opposition of parliament. The religious difficulty gave him as little anxiety. If Laud was taking harsh courses with the Puritans, he seemed to be successful in his struggle with Puritanism. The most able among its ministers were silenced or deprived. The most earnest of its laymen were flying over seas. But there was no show of opposition to the reforms of the primate or the high commission. In the two dependent kingdoms all appeared to be going well. In Scotland, Charles had begun quietly to carry further his father's schemes for religious uniformity; but there was no voice of protest. In Ireland, Wentworth could point to a submissive



parliament and a well-equipped army, ready to serve the king on either side St. George's channel. The one solitary anxiety of Charles, in fact, lay in the aspect of foreign affairs. The union of Holland and of France had done the work that England had failed to do in saving German Protestantism from the grasp of the house of Austria. But if their union was of service to Germany, it brought danger to England. France was its ancient foe. The commercial supremacy of the Dutch was threatening English trade. The junction of their fleets would at once enable them to challenge the right of dominion which England claimed over the channel. And at this moment rumors came of a scheme of partition by which the Spanish Netherlands were to be shared between the French and the Dutch, and by which Dunkirk was at once to be attacked and given into the hands of France.

1018. To suffer the extension of France along the shores of the Netherlands had seemed impossible to English statesmen from the days of Elizabeth. To surrender the command of the channel was equally galling to the national pride. Even Weston, fond as he was of peace, had seen the need of putting a strong fleet upon the seas; and in 1634 Spain engaged to defray part of the expense of equipping such a fleet in the hope that the king's demand would bring on war with Holland and with France. But money had to be found at home, and as Charles would not hear of the gathering of a parliament, means had to be got by a new stretch of prerogative. The legal research of Noy, one of the law-officers of

the crown, found precedents among the records in the Tower for the provision of ships for the king's use by the port-towns of the kingdom, and for the furnishing of their equipment by the maritime counties. The precedents dated from times when no permanent fleet existed, and when sea warfare could only be waged by vessels lent for the moment by the various ports. But they were seized as a means of equipping a permanent navy without cost to the exchequer; the first demand of ships was soon commuted into a demand of money for the provision of ships; and the writs for the payment of ship-money which were issued to London and other coast-towns were enforced by fine and imprisonment. The money was paid, and in 1635 a fleet put to sea. The Spaniards, however, were too poor to fulfill their share of the bargain; they sent neither money nor vessels; and Charles shrank from a contest single-handed with France and the Dutch. But with the death of the Earl of Portland a bolder hand seized the reins of power. To Laud as to Wentworth the system of Weston had hardly seemed government at all. In the correspondence which passed between the two ministers the king was censured as over-cautious, the Star-chamber as feeble, the judges as over-scrupulous. "I am for thorough," the one writes to the other in alternate fits of impatience at the slow progress they are making. Wentworth was anxious that his good work might not "be spoiled on that side." Laud echoed the wish, while he envied the free course of the lord lieutenant. "You have a good deal of humor here," he writes, "for

your proceeding. Go on a' God's name. I have done with expecting of thorough on this side."

1019. With feelings such as these, Laud no sooner took the direction of affairs than a more vigorous and unscrupulous impulse made itself felt. Far from being drawn from his projects by the desertion of Spain, Charles was encouraged to carry them out by his own efforts. It was determined to strengthen the fleet; and funds for this purpose were raised by an extension of the levy of ship-money. The pretense of precedents was thrown aside, and Laud resolved to find a permanent revenue in the conversion of the "ship-money," till now levied on ports and the maritime counties, into a general tax imposed by the royal will upon the whole country. The sum expected from the tax was no less than a quarter of a million a year. "I know no reason," Wentworth had written significantly, "but you may as well rule the common lawyers in England as I, poor beagle, do here;" and the judges no sooner declared the new impost to be legal than he drew the logical deduction from their decision: "Since it is lawful for the king to impose a tax for the equipment of the navy, it must be equally so for the levy of an army; and the same reason which authorizes him to levy an army to resist, will authorize him to carry that army abroad that he may prevent invasion. Moreover, what is law in England is law also in Scotland and Ireland. The decision of the judges will, therefore, make the king absolute at home and formidable abroad. Let him only abstain from war for a few years that he may habituate his subjects to

the payment of that tax, and in the end he will find himself more powerful and respected than any of his predecessors." "The debt of the crown being taken off," he wrote to Charles, "you may govern at your will."

1020. But there were men who saw the danger to freedom in this levy of ship-money as clearly as Wentworth himself. The bulk of the country party abandoned all hope of English freedom. There was a sudden revival of the emigration to New England; and men of blood and fortune now prepared to seek a new home in the west. Lord Warwick secured the proprietorship of the Connecticut valley. Lord Saye and Sele and Lord Brooke began negotiations for transporting themselves to the New World. Oliver Cromwell is said, by a doubtful tradition, to have only been prevented from crossing the seas by a royal embargo. It is more certain that John Hampden purchased a tract of land on the Narragansett. No visionary danger would have brought the soul of Hampden to the thought of flight. He was sprung of an ancient line, which had been true to the house of Lancaster in the wars of the Roses, and whose fidelity had been rewarded by the favor of the Tudors. On the brow of the Chilterns an opening in the woods has borne the name of "the Queen's Gap" ever since Griffith Hampden cleared an avenue for one of Elizabeth's visits to his stately home. His grandson, John, was born at the close of the queen's reign; the dissipations of youth were cut short by an early marriage at twenty-five to a wife he loved; and the young squire settled down to

a life of study and religion. His wealth and lineage opened to him a career such as other men were choosing at the Stuart court. Few English commoners had wider possessions; and under James it was easy to purchase a peerage by servility and hard cash. "If my son will seek for his honor," wrote his mother from the court, "tell him now to come, for here are multitudes of lords-a-making!" But Hampden had nobler aims than a peerage. From the first his choice was made to stand by the side of those who were struggling for English freedom; and at the age of twenty-six he took his seat in the memorable parliament of 1620. Young as he was, his ability at once carried him to the front; he was employed in "managing conferences with the lords," and other weighty business, and became the friend of Eliot and of Pym. He was again returned to the two first parliaments of Charles; and his firm refusal to contribute to forced loans at the close of the second, marked the quiet firmness of his temper. "I could be content to lead," he replied to the demand of the council, "but for fear to draw on myself that curse in Magna Charta which should be read twice a year against those that do infringe it." He was rewarded with so close an imprisonment in the Tower "that he never afterward did look the same man he was before." But a prison had no force to bend the steady patriotism of John Hampden, and he again took a prominent part in the parliament of 1628, especially on the religious questions which came under debate.

1021. With the dissolution of this parliament

Hampden again withdrew to his home, the home, that, however disguised by tasteless changes without, still stands unaltered within, on a rise of the Chilterns, its Elizabethan hall, girt round with galleries and stately staircases winding up beneath shadowy portraits in ruffs and farthingales. Around are the quiet undulations of the chalk-country, billowy heavings and sinkings as of some primeval sea suddenly hushed into motionlessness, soft slopes of gray grass or brown-red corn falling gently to dry bottoms, woodland flung here and there in masses over the hills. A country of fine and lucid air, of far shadowy distances, of hollows tenderly veiled by mist, graceful everywhere with a flowing unaccentuated grace, as though Hampden's own temper had grown out of it. As we look on it, we recall the "flowing courtesy to all men," the "seeming humility and submission of judgment," the "rare affability and temper in debate," that woke admiration and regard even in the fiercest of his opponents. But beneath the outer grace of Hampden's demeanor lay a soul of steel. Buried as he seemed in the affections of his home, the great patriot waited patiently for the hour of freedom that he knew must come. Around him gathered the men that were to stand by his side in the future struggle. He had been the bosom-friend of Eliot till the victim of the king's resentment lay dead in the Tower. He was now the bosom-friend of Pym. His mother had been a daughter of the great Cromwell house at Hitchinbrooke, and he was thus closely linked by blood to Oliver Cromwell, and more distantly to

Oliver St. John. The marriage of two daughters united him to the Knightleys and the Lynes. Selden and Whitelock were among his closest counselors. It was in steady commune with these that the years passed by, while outer eyes saw in him only a Puritan squire of a cultured sort, popular among his tenantry, and punctual at quarter-sessions, with "an exceeding propenseness to field sports," and "busy in the embellishment of his estate, of which he was very fond."

1022. At last the quiet patience was broken by the news of the ship-money, and of a writ addressed to the high sheriff, Sir Peter Temple of Stave, ordering him to raise £4500 on the county of Buckingham. Hampden's resolve was soon known. In the January of 1636, a return was made of the payments for ship-money from the village of Great Kimble, at the foot of the Chilterns, round which his chief property lay, and at the head of those who refused to pay stood the name of John Hampden. For a while matters moved slowly; and it was not till the close of June, that a council-warrant summoned the high sheriff to account for arrears. Hampden, meanwhile, had been taking counsel in the spring with Whitelock and others of his friends concerning the means of bringing the matter to a legal issue. Charles was as eager to appeal to the law as Hampden himself; but he followed his father's usage in privately consulting the judges on the subject of his claim, and it was not till the February of 1637 that their answer asserted its legality. The king at once made their opinion public in the faith that all

resistance would cease. But the days were gone by when the voice of the judges was taken submissively for law by Englishmen. They had seen the dismissal of Coke and Crewe. They knew that in matters of the prerogative the judges admitted a right of interference and of dictation on the part of the crown. "The judges," Sir Harbottle Grimston could say in the Long parliament, "the judges have overthrown the law, as the bishops religion!" What Hampden aimed at was not the judgment of such judges, but an open trial where England might hear, in spite of the silence of parliament, a discussion of this great inroad on its freedom. His wishes were realized at last by the issue in May of a writ from the exchequer, calling on him to show cause why payment of ship-money for his lands should not be made.

1023. The news of Hampden's resistance thrilled through the country at a moment when men were roused by news of resistance in the north. Since the accession of James, Scotland had bent with a seeming tameness before aggression after aggression. Its pulpits had been bridled. Its boldest ministers had been sent into exile. Its general assembly had been brought to submission by the crown. Its church had been forced to accept bishops, if not with all their old powers, still with authority as permanent superintendents of the diocesan synods. The ministers and elders had been deprived of their right of excommunicating offenders, save with a bishop's sanction. A court of high commission enforced the supremacy of the crown. But with this enforcement of his royal authority, James was con-



tent. He had no wish for a doctrinal change, or for the bringing about of a strict uniformity with the church of England. It was in vain that Laud in his earlier days invited James to draw his Scotch subjects "to a nearer conjunction with the liturgy and canons of this nation." "I sent him back again," said the shrewd old king, "with the frivolous draft he had drawn. For all that, he feared not my anger, but assaulted me again with another ill-fangled platform to make that stubborn kirk stoop more to the English platform; but I durst not play fast and loose with my word. He knows not the stomach of that people." The earlier policy of Charles followed his father's line of action. It effected little save a partial restoration of church lands, which the lords were forced to surrender. But Laud's vigorous action made itself felt. His first acts were directed rather to points of outer observance than to any attack on the actual fabric of Presbyterian organization. The estates were induced to withdraw the control of ecclesiastical apparel from the assembly, and to commit it to the crown; and this step was soon followed by a resumption of their episcopal costume on the part of the Scotch bishops. When the Bishop of Moray preached before Charles in his rochet, on the king's visit to Edinburgh in 1633, it was the first instance of its use since the reformation. The innovation was followed by the issue of a royal warrant which directed all ministers to use the surplice in divine worship.

1024. The enforcement of the surplice woke Scotland from its torpor, and alarm at once spread

through the country. Quarterly meetings were held in parishes, with fasting and prayer, to consult on the dangers which threatened religion, and ministers who conformed to the new ceremonies were rebuked and deserted by their congregations. The popular discontent soon found leaders in the Scotch nobles. Threatened in power by the attempts of the crown to narrow their legal jurisdiction, in purse by projects for the resumption and restoration to the church of the bishops' lands, irritated by the restoration of the prelates to their old rank, by their reintroduction to parliament and the council, by the nomination of Archbishop Spottiswood to the post of chancellor, and, above all, by the setting up again the worrying bishops' courts, the nobles, with Lord Lorne at their head, stood sullenly aloof from the new system. But Charles was indifferent to the discontent which his measures were rousing. Under Laud's pressure he was resolved to put an end to the Presbyterian character of the Scotch church altogether, and to bring it to a uniformity with the church of England in organization and ritual. With this view a book of canons was issued in 1636 on the sole authority of the king. These canons placed the government of the church absolutely in the hands of its bishops; and made a bishop's license necessary for instruction and for the publication of books. The authority of the prelates, indeed, was jealously subordinated to the supremacy of the crown. No church assembly might be summoned but by the king, no alteration in worship or discipline introduced but by his permission. As daring a stretch

of the prerogative superseded what was known as Knox's liturgy—the book of common order drawn up on the Genevan model by that reformer, and generally used throughout Scotland—by a new liturgy based on the English book of common prayer.

1025. The liturgy and canons had been Laud's own handiwork; in their composition the general assembly had neither been consulted nor recognized; and taken together they formed the code of a political and ecclesiastical system which aimed at reducing Scotland to an utter subjection to the crown. To enforce them on the land was to effect a revolution of the most serious kind. The books, however, were backed by a royal injunction, and Laud flattered himself that the revolution had been wrought. But the patience of Scotland found an end at last. In the summer of 1637, while England was waiting for the opening of the great cause of ship-money, peremptory orders from the king forced the clergy of Edinburgh to introduce the new service into their churches. On the 23d of July, the prayer-book was used at the church of St. Giles. But the book was no sooner opened than a murmur ran through the congregation, and the murmur grew into a formidable riot. The church was cleared, and the service read; but the rising discontent frightened the judges into a decision that the royal writ enjoined the purchase, not the use, of the prayer-book, and its use was at once discontinued. The angry orders which came from England for its restoration were met by a shower of protests from every part of Scotland. The ministers of Fife pleaded boldly the want of

any confirmation of the book by a general assembly. "This church," they exclaimed, "is a free and independent church, just as this kingdom is a free and independent kingdom." The Duke of Lennox alone took sixty-eight petitions with him to the court; while ministers, nobles, and gentry poured into Edinburgh to organize a national resistance.

1026. The effect of these events in Scotland was at once seen in the open demonstration of discontent south of the border. The prison with which Laud had rewarded Prynne's enormous folio had tamed his spirit so little that a new tract, written within its walls, denounced the bishops as devouring wolves and lords of Lucifer. A fellow-prisoner, John Bastwick, declared in his "litany" that "Hell was broke loose, and the devils in surplices, hoods, copes, and rochets were come among us." Burton, a London clergyman, silenced by the high commission, called on all Christians to resist the bishops as "robbers of souls, limbs of the beast, and factors of Antichrist." Raving of this sort might well have been passed by, had not the general sympathy with Prynne and his fellow-pamphleteers, when Laud dragged them in 1637 before the Star-chamber as "trumpets of sedition," shown how fast the tide of general anger against the government was rising. The four culprits listened with defiance to their sentence of exposure in the pillory and imprisonment for life; and the crowd who filled the palace yard to witness their punishment groaned at the cutting off of their ears, and "gave a great shout" when Prynne urged that the sentence on him was contrary to law.

A hundred thousand Londoners lined the road as they passed on the way to prison; and the journey of these "martyrs," as the spectators called them, was like a triumphal progress. Startled as he was at the sudden burst of popular feeling, Laud remained dauntless as ever. Prynne's entertainers, as he passed through the country, were summoned before the Star-chamber, while the censorship struck fiercer blows at the Puritan press. But the real danger lay not in the libels of silly zealots, but in the attitude of Scotland, and in the effect which was being produced in England at large by the trial of Hampden. Wentworth was looking on from Ireland with cool insolence at the contest between a subject and the crown. "Mr. Hampden," he wrote, "is a great brother; and the genius of that faction of people leads them always to oppose, both civilly and ecclesiastically, all that ever authority ordains." But England looked on with other eyes. "The eyes of all men," owns Clarendon, "were fixed upon him as their Pater Patriæ, and the pilot who must steer the vessel through the tempests and storms that threatened it." In November and December, 1637, the cause of ship-money was solemnly argued for twelve days before the full bench of judges. It was proved that the tax in past times had been levied only in cases of sudden emergency, and confined to the coast and port towns alone, and that even the show of legality had been taken from it by formal statute and by the petition of right.

1027. The case was sojourned, but its discussion told not merely on England, but on the temper of

the Scots. Charles had replied to their petitions by a simple order to all strangers to leave the capital. But the council at Edinburgh was unable to enforce his order; and the nobles and gentry before dispersing to their homes petitioned against the bishops, resolved not to own the jurisdiction of their courts, and named in November, 1637, a body of delegates, under the odd title of "the tables." These delegates carried on through the winter a series of negotiations with the crown. The negotiations were interrupted in the spring of 1638 by a renewed order for their dispersion, and for the acceptance of a prayer-book; while the judges in England delivered in June their long-delayed decision on Hampden's case. Two judges only pronounced in his favor; though three followed them on technical grounds. The majority, seven in number, laid down the broad principle that no statute prohibiting arbitrary taxation could be pleaded against the king's will. "I never read or heard," said Judge Berkley, "that *lex* was *rex*, but it is common and most true that *rex* is *lex*." Finch, the chief-justice, summed up the opinions of his fellow-judges. "Acts of parliament to take away the king's royal power in the defense of his kingdom are void," he said; "they are void acts of parliament to bind the king not to command the subjects, their persons, and goods, and I say their money too, for no acts of parliament make any difference."

1028. The case was ended; and Charles looked for the Puritans to give way. But keener eyes discerned that a new spirit of resistance had been stirred by the trial. The insolence of Wentworth

was exchanged for a tone of angry terror. "I wish Mr. Hampden and others to his likeness," the lord deputy wrote bitterly from Ireland, "were well whipt into their right senses." Amid the exultation of the court over the decision of the judges, Wentworth saw clearly that Hampden's work had been done. Legal and temperate as his course had been, he had roused England to a sense of the danger to her freedom, and forced into light the real character of the royal claims. How stern and bitter the temper even of the noblest Puritans had become at last we see in the poem which Milton produced at this time, his elegy of "Lycidas." Its grave and tender lament is broken by a sudden flash of indignation at the dangers around the church, at the "blind mouths that scarce themselves know how to hold a sheep-hook," and to whom "the hungry sheep look up, and are not fed," while "the grim wolf" of Rome "with privy paw daily devours apace, and nothing said!" The stern resolve of the people to demand justice on their tyrants spoke in his threat of the axe. Strafford and Laud, and Charles himself, had yet to reckon with "that two-handed engine at the door" which stood "ready to smite once, and smite no more." But stern as was the general resolve, there was no need for immediate action, for the difficulties which were gathering in the north were certain to bring a strain on the government, which would force it to seek support from the people. The king's demand for immediate submission, which reached Scotland while England was waiting for the Hampden judgment, in the spring of 1638, gathered the

whole body of remonstrants together round "the tables" at Stirling; and a protestation, read at Edinburgh, was followed, on Johnston of Warriston's suggestion, by a renewal of the covenant with God which had been drawn up and sworn to in a previous hour of peril, when Mary was still plotting against Protestantism, and Spain was preparing an armada. "We promise and swear," ran the solemn engagement at its close, "by the great name of the Lord our God, to continue in the profession and obedience of the said religion, and that we shall defend the same, and resist all their contrary errors and corruptions, according to our vocation and the utmost of that power which God has put into our hands all the days of our life."

1029. The covenant was signed in the churchyard of the Gray Friars at Edinburgh on the 1st of March, in a tumult of enthusiasm, "with such content and joy as those who, having long before been outlaws and rebels, are admitted again into covenant with God." Gentlemen and nobles rode with the documents in their pockets over the country, gathering subscriptions to it, while the ministers pressed for a general consent to it from the pulpit. But pressure was needless. "Such was the zeal of subscribers that for a while many subscribed with tears on their cheeks;" some were, indeed, reputed to have "drawn their own blood and used it in place of ink to underwrite their names." The force given to Scottish freedom by this revival of religious fervor was seen in the new tone adopted by the covenanters. The Marquis of Hamilton, who came as royal com



missioner to put an end to the quarrel, was at once met by demands for an abolition of the court of high commission, the withdrawal of the books of canons and common prayer, a free parliament, and a free general assembly. He threatened war; but the threat proved fruitless, and even the Scotch council pressed Charles to give fuller satisfaction to the people. "I will rather die," the king wrote to Hamilton, "than yield to these impertinent and damnable demands;" but it was needful to gain time. "The discontents at home," wrote Lord Northumberland to Wentworth, "do rather increase than lessen;" and Charles was without money or men. It was in vain that he begged for a loan from Spain on promise of declaring war against Holland, or that he tried to procure 2000 troops from Flanders, with which to occupy Edinburgh. The loan and troops were both refused, and some contributions offered by the English Catholics did little to recruit the exchequer.

1030. Charles had directed the marquis to delay any decisive breach till the royal fleet appeared in the Forth; but it was hard to equip a fleet at all. Scotland, in fact, was sooner ready for war than the king. The Scotch volunteers who had been serving in the Thirty Years' war streamed home at the call of their brethren; and General Leslie, a veteran trained under Gustavus, came from Sweden to take the command of the new forces. A voluntary war tax was levied in every shire. Charles was so utterly taken by surprise that he saw no choice but to yield, if but for the moment, to the Scottish demands. Hamilton announced that the king allowed the cov-

enant; the service book was revoked; a pledge was given that the power of the bishops should be lessened; a parliament was promised for the coming year; and a general assembly summoned at once. The assembly met at Glasgow in November, 1638; it had been chosen according to the old form which James had annulled, and its 144 ministers were backed by ninety-six lay elders, among whom all the leading Covenanters found a place. They had hardly met when, at the news of their design to attack the bishops, Hamilton declared the assembly dissolved. But the church claimed its old freedom of meeting apart from any license from kings; and by an almost unanimous vote the assembly resolved to continue its session. Its acts were an undoing of all that the Stuarts had done. The two books of canons and common prayer, the high commission, the articles of Perth, were all set aside as invalid. Episcopacy was abjured, the bishops were deposed from their office, and the system of Presbyterianism re-established in its fullest extent.

1031. Scotland was fighting England's battle as well as her own. The bold assertion of a people's right to frame its own religion was a practical carrying out of the claim which had been made by the English parliament of 1629. But Charles was as resolute to resist it now as then. He was firm in his resolve of war, and the strong remonstrances of his Scotch councilors against it were met by a fierce pressure from Wentworth and Laud. Both felt that the question had ceased to be one for Scotland only; they saw that a concession to the Scots must now be

fatal to the political and ecclesiastical system they had built up in Ireland and England alike. In both countries those who opposed the government were looking to the rising in the north. They were suspicious of correspondence between the Puritans in England and the Scotch leaders; and whether these suspicions were true or no, of the sympathy with which the proceedings at Edinburgh were watched south of the border there could be little doubt. It was with the conviction that the whole Stuart system was at stake that the two ministers pressed for war. But angered as he was, Charles was a Scotchman, and a Scotch king; and he shrank from a march with English troops into his hereditary kingdom. He counted rather on the sympathy of the northern clans and of Huntly, on the impression produced by the appearance of Hamilton with a fleet in the Forth, and by the suspension of trade with Holland, than on any actual force of arms from the south. The 20,000 men he gathered at York were to serve rather as a demonstration, and to protect the border, than as an invading force. But again his plans broke down before the activity and resolution of the Scots. The news that Charles was gathering an army at York, and reckoning for support on the clans of the north, was answered in the spring of 1639 by the seizure of Edinburgh, Dumbar-ton, and Stirling; while 10,000 well-equipped troops under Leslie and the Earl of Montrose entered Aberdeen, and brought the Earl of Huntly a prisoner to the south. Instead of overawing the country, the appearance of the royal fleet in the Forth was the

signal for Leslie's march with 20,000 men to the border. Charles had hardly pushed across the Tweed, when the "old little crooked soldier," encamping on the hill of Dunse Law, a few miles from Berwick, fairly offered him battle.

1032. The king's threats at once broke down. Charles had a somewhat stronger force than Leslie, but his men had no will to fight; and he was forced to evade a battle by consenting to the gathering of a free assembly and of a Scotch parliament. But he had no purpose of being bound by terms which had been wrested from him by rebel subjects. In his eyes, the pacification at Berwick was a mere suspension of arms; and the king's summons of Wentworth from Ireland was a proof that violent measures were in preparation. The Scotch leaders were far from deceiving themselves as to the king's purpose; and in the struggle which they foresaw they sought aid from a power which Scotch tradition had looked on for centuries as the natural ally of their country. The jealousy between France and England had long been smoldering, and only the weakness of Charles and the caution of Richelieu had prevented its bursting into open flame. In the weary negotiations which the English king still carried on for the restoration of his nephew to the palatinate, he had till now been counting rather on the friendly mediation of Spain with the emperor than on any efforts of France or its Protestant allies. At this moment, however, a strange piece of fortune brought about a sudden change in his policy. A Spanish fleet, which had been attacked by the Dutch in the channel,

took refuge under the guns of Dover; and Spain appealed for its protection to the friendship of the king. But Charles saw in the incident a chance of winning the palatinate without a blow. He at once opened negotiations with Richelieu. He offered to suffer the Spanish vessels to be destroyed if France would pledge itself to restore his nephew. Richelieu, on the other hand, would only consent to his restoration if Charles would take an active part in the war. But the negotiations were suddenly cut short by the daring of the Dutch. In spite of the king's threats they attacked the Spanish fleet as it lay in English waters, and drove it broken to Ostend. Such an act of defiance could only embitter the enmity which Charles already felt toward France and its Dutch allies; and Richelieu grasped gladly at the Scotch revolt as a means of hindering England from joining in the war. His agents opened communications with the Scottish leaders; and applications for its aid were forwarded by the Scots to the French court.

1033. The discovery of this correspondence roused anew the hopes of the king. He was resolved not to yield to rebels; and the proceedings in Scotland since the pacification of Berwick seemed to him mere rebellion. A fresh general assembly adopted as valid the acts of its predecessor. The parliament only met to demand that the council should be responsible to it for its course of government. The king prorogued both, that he might use the weapon which fortune had thrown into his hand. He never doubted that if he appealed to the country, English loyalty

would rise to support him against Scottish treason. He yielded at last to the counsels of Wentworth. Wentworth was still for war. He had never ceased to urge that the Scots should be whipped back to their border; and the king now avowed his concurrence in this policy by raising him to the earldom of Strafford, and from the post of lord-deputy to that of lord-lieutenant. Strafford agreed with Charles that a parliament should be summoned, the correspondence laid before it, and advantage taken of the burst of indignation on which the king counted to procure a heavy subsidy. But he had foreseen that it might refuse all aid; and in such a case the earl and the council held that the king would have a right to fall back on "extraordinary means." Strafford himself hurried to Ireland to read a practical lesson to the English parliament. In fourteen days he had procured four subsidies from the Irish commons, and set on foot a force of 8000 men to take part in the attack on the Scots. He came back, flushed with his success, in time for the meeting of the houses at Westminster in the middle of April, 1640. But the lesson failed in its effect. Statesmen like Hampden and Pym were not fools enough to aid the great enemy of English freedom against men who had risen for freedom across the Tweed. Every member of the commons knew that Scotland was fighting the battle of English liberty. All hope of bringing them to any attack upon the Scots proved fruitless. The intercepted letters were quietly set aside; and the commons declared as of old that redress of grievances must precede any grant of supplies. No

subsidy could be granted till security was had for religion, for property, and for the liberties of parliament. An offer to relinquish ship-money proved fruitless; and after three weeks' sitting the "Short Parliament" was dissolved. "Things must go worse before they go better," was the cool comment of St. John. But the country was strangely moved. After eleven years of personal rule, its hopes had risen again with the summons of the houses to Westminster; and their rough dismissal after a three weeks' sitting brought all patience to an end. "So great a defection in the kingdom," wrote Lord Northumberland, "hath not been known in the memory of man"

1034. Strafford alone stood undaunted. He had provided for the resolve of the parliament by the decision of the council that in such a case the king might resort to "extraordinary means;" and he now urged that by the act of the commons Charles was "freed from all rule of government," and entitled to supply himself at his will. The Irish army, he said, was at the king's command, and Scotland could be subdued in a single summer. He was bent, in fact, on war; and he took command of the royal army, which again advanced to the north. But the Scots were as ready for war as Strafford. As early as March they had reassembled their army, and their parliament commissioned the committee of estates, of which Argyle was the most influential member, to carry on the government. Encouraged by the refusal of the English houses to grant supplies, they now published a new manifesto and resolved to meet

the march of Strafford's army by an advance into England. On the 20th of August, the Scotch army crossed the border, Montrose being the first to set foot on English soil. Forcing the passage of the Tyne in the face of an English detachment, they occupied Newcastle, and dispatched from that town their proposals of peace. They prayed the king to consider their grievances, and "with the advice and consent of the estates of England, convened in parliament, to settle a firm and desirable peace." The prayer was backed by preparations for a march upon York, where Charles had abandoned himself to despair. The warlike bluster of Strafford had broken utterly down the moment he attempted to take the field. His troops were a mere mob; and neither by threats nor prayers could the earl recall them to their duty. He was forced to own that two months were needed before they could be fit for action. Charles was driven again to open negotiations with the Scots, and to buy a respite in their advance by a promise of pay for their army, and by leaving Northumberland and Durham in their hands as pledges for the fulfillment of his engagements. But the truce only met half his difficulties. Behind him England was all but in revolt. The treasury was empty, and London and the East India merchants alike refused a loan. The London apprentices mobbed Laud at Lambeth, and broke up the sittings of the high commission at St. Paul's. The war was denounced everywhere as "the bishops' war," and the new levies murdered officers whom they suspected of papistry, broke down altar-rails in every church they passed, and



deserted to their homes. To all but Strafford it was plain that the system of Charles had broken hopelessly down. Two peers, Lord Wharton and Lord Howard, ventured to lay before the king himself a petition for peace with the Scots; and though Strafford arrested and proposed to shoot them as mutineers, the English council shrank from desperate courses. But if desperate courses were not taken, there was nothing for it but to give way. Penniless, without an army, with a people all but in revolt, the obstinate temper of the king still strove to escape from the humiliation of calling a parliament. He summoned a great council of the peers at York. But his project broke down before its general repudiation by the nobles; and, with wrath and shame at his heart, Charles was driven to summon again the houses to Westminster.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

1640—1644.

1035. IF Strafford embodied the spirit of tyranny, John Pym, the leader of the commons from the first meeting of the new houses at Westminster, stands out for all after time as the embodiment of law. A Somersetshire gentleman of good birth and competent fortune, he entered on public life in the parliament of 1614, and was imprisoned for his patriotism at its close. He had been a leading member in that

of 1620, and one of the "twelve ambassadors" for whom James ordered chairs to be set at Whitehall. Of the band of patriots with whom he had stood side by side in the constitutional struggle against the earlier despotism of Charles, he was almost the one survivor. Coke had died of old age; Cotton's heart was broken by oppression; Eliot had perished in the Tower; Wentworth had apostatized. But Pym remained, resolute, patient as of old; and as the sense of his greatness grew silently during the eleven years of deepening misrule, the hope and faith of better things clung almost passionately to the man who never doubted of the final triumph of freedom and the law. At their close, Clarendon tells us, in words all the more notable for their bitter tone of hate, "he was the most popular man, and the most able to do hurt, that have lived at any time." He had shown he knew how to wait, and when waiting was over he showed he knew how to act. On the eve of the Long Parliament he rode through England to quicken the electors to a sense of the crisis which had come at last; and on the assembling of the commons he took his place, not merely as member for Tavistock, but as their acknowledged head. Few of the country gentlemen, indeed, who formed the bulk of the members, had sat in any previous house; and of the few, none represented in so eminent a way the parliamentary tradition on which the coming struggle was to turn. Pym's eloquence, inferior in boldness and originality to that of Eliot or Wentworth, was better suited by its massive and logical force to convince and guide a great party;

and it was backed by a calmness of temper, a dexterity and order in the management of public business, and a practical power of shaping the course of debate, which gave a form and method to parliamentary proceedings such as they had never had before.

1036. Valuable, however, as these qualities were, it was a yet higher quality which raised Pym into the greatest, as he was the first, of parliamentary leaders. Of the 500 members who sat round him at St. Stephen's, he was the one man who had clearly foreseen, and as clearly resolved how to meet, the difficulties which lay before them. It was certain that parliament would be drawn into a struggle with the crown. It was probable that in such a struggle the house of commons would be hampered, as it had been hampered before, by the house of lords. The legal antiquarians of the older constitutional school stood helpless before such a conflict of co-ordinate powers, a conflict for which no provision had been made by the law, and on which precedents threw only a doubtful and conflicting light. But with a knowledge of precedent as great as their own, Pym rose high above them in his grasp of constitutional principles. He was the first English statesman who discovered, and applied to the political circumstances round him, what may be called the doctrine of constitutional proportion. He saw that as an element of constitutional life, parliament was of higher value than the crown; he saw, too, that in parliament itself the one essential part was the house of commons. On these two facts he based his whole policy in the contest which followed. When Charles re-

fused to act with the parliament, Pym treated the refusal as a temporary abdication on the part of the sovereign, which vested the executive power in the two houses until new arrangements were made. When the lords obstructed public business, he warned them that obstruction would only force the commons "to save the kingdom alone." Revolutionary as these principles seemed at the time, they have both been recognized as bases of our constitution since the days of Pym. The first principle was established by the convention and parliament which followed on the departure of James the Second; the second by the acknowledgment on all sides, since the reform bill of 1832, that the government of the country is really in the hands of the house of commons, and can only be carried on by ministers who represent the majority of that house.

1037. It was thus that the work of Pym brought about a political revolution greater than any that England had ever experienced since his day. But the temper of Pym was the very opposite of the temper of a revolutionist. Few natures have ever been wider in their range of sympathy or action. Serious as his purpose was, his manners were genial and even courtly; he turned easily from an invective against Strafford to a chat with Lady Carlisle; and the grace and gayety of his social tone, even when the care and weight of public affairs were bringing him to his grave, gave rise to a hundred silly scandals among the prurient royalists. It was this striking combination of genial versatility with a massive force in his nature which marked him out from the

first moment of power as a born ruler of men. He proved himself at once the subtlest of diplomatists and the grandest of demagogues. He was equally at home in tracking the subtle intricacies of royalist intrigues, or in kindling popular passion with words of fire. Though past middle life when his work really began, for he was born in 1584, four years before the coming of the Armada, he displayed from the first meeting of the Long Parliament the qualities of a great administrator, an immense faculty for labor, a genius for organization, patience, tact, a power of inspiring confidence in all whom he touched, calmness and moderation under good fortune or ill, an immovable courage, an iron will. No English ruler has ever shown greater nobleness of natural temper or a wider capacity for government than the Somersetshire squire whom his enemies, made clear-sighted by their hate, greeted truly enough as "King Pym."

1038. On the eve of the elections, he rode with Hampden through the counties to rouse England to a sense of the crisis which had come. But his ride was hardly needed, for the summons of a parliament at once woke the kingdom to a fresh life. The Puritan emigration to New England was suddenly and utterly suspended; "the change," said Winthrop, "made all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world." The public discontent spoke from every Puritan pulpit, and expressed itself in a sudden burst of pamphlets, the first-fruits of the 30,000 which were issued in the twenty years that followed, and which turned England at large into a school of political discussion. The resolute looks of the mem-

bers as they gathered at Westminster on the 3d of November, 1640, contrasted with the hesitating words of the king; and each brought from borough or county a petition of grievances. Fresh petitions were brought every day by bands of citizens or farmers. The first week was spent in receiving these petitions, and in appointing forty committees to examine and report on them, whose reports formed the grounds on which the commons subsequently acted. The next work of the commons was to deal with the agents of the royal system. It was agreed that the king's name should be spared; but in every county a list of officers who had carried out the plans of the government was ordered to be prepared and laid before the house. But the commons were far from dealing merely with these meaner "delinquents." They resolved to strike at the men whose counsels had wrought the evil of the past years of tyranny; and their first blow was at the leading ministers of the king.

1039. Even Laud was not the center of so great and universal a hatred as the Earl of Strafford. Strafford's guilt was more than the guilt of a servile instrument of tyranny it was the guilt of "that grand apostate to the commonwealth who," in the terrible words which closed Lord Digby's invective, "must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be dispatched to the other." He was conscious of his danger, but Charles forced him to attend the court; and with characteristic boldness he resolved to anticipate attack by accusing the parliamentary leaders of a treasonable correspondence with the

Scots. He reached London a week after the opening of the parliament; and hastened the next morning to an interview with the king. But he had to deal with men as energetic as himself. He was just laying his scheme before Charles, when the news reached him that Pym was at the bar of the lords with his impeachment for high treason. On the morning of the 11th of November, the doors of the house of commons had been locked, Strafford's impeachment voted, and carried by Pym with 300 members at his back to the bar of the lords. The earl hurried at once to the parliament. "With speed," writes an eye-witness, "he comes to the house: he calls rudely at the door," and, "with a proud glooming look, makes towards his place at the board-head. But at once many bid him void the house, so he is forced in confusion to go to the door till he was called." He was only recalled to hear his committal to the Tower. He was still resolute to retort the charge of treason on his foes, and "offered to speak, but was commanded to be gone without a word." The keeper of the black rod demanded his sword as he took him in charge. "This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coach, no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greatest of all England would have stood uncovered."

1040. The blow was quickly followed up. Windebank, the secretary of state, was charged with a corrupt favoring of recusants, and escaped to France; Finch, the lord keeper, was impeached, and fled in terror oversea. In December, Laud was himself committed to the charge of the usher. The shadow

of what was to come falls across the pages of his diary, and softens the hard temper of the man into a strange tenderness. "I stayed at Lambeth till the evening," writes the archbishop, "to avoid the gaze of the people. I went to evening prayer in my chapel. The psalms of the day and chapter fifty of Isaiah gave me great comfort. God make me worthy of it, and fit to receive it. As I went to my barge, hundreds of my poor neighbors stood there and prayed for my safety and return to my house. For which I bless God and them." In February, Sir Robert Berkeley, one of the judges who had held that ship-money was legal, was seized while sitting on the bench and committed to prison. In the very first days of the parliament a yet more emphatic proof of the downfall of the royal system had been given by the recall of Prynne and his fellow "martyrs" from their prisons, and by their entry in triumph into London, amidst the shouts of a great multitude who strewed laurels in their path.

1041. The effect of these rapid blows was seen in the altered demeanor of the king. Charles at once dropped his old tone of command. He ceased to protest against the will of the commons, and looked sullenly on while one by one the lawless acts of his government were undone. Ship-money was declared illegal; and the judgment in Hampden's case was annulled. In February, 1641, a statute declaring "the ancient right of the subjects of this kingdom that no subsidy, custom, impost, or any charge whatsoever ought or may be laid or imposed upon any merchandise exported or imported by subjects, deni-



zens, or aliens, without common consent in parliament," put an end forever to all pretensions to a right of arbitrary taxation on the part of the crown. A triennial bill enforced the assembly of the houses every three years, and bound the returning officers to proceed to election if no royal writ were issued to summon them.

1042. The subject of religion was one of greater difficulty. In ecclesiastical as in political matters the aim of the parliamentary leaders was strictly conservative. Their purpose was to restore the church of England to its state under Elizabeth, and to free it from the "innovations" introduced by Laud and his fellow-prelates. With this view commissioners were sent in January, 1641, into every county, "for the defacing, demolishing, and quite taking away of all images, altars, or tables turned altarwise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments, and reliques of idolatry out of all churches and chapels." But the bulk of the commons as of the lords were averse from any radical changes in the constitution or doctrine of the church. All, however, were agreed in the necessity of reform; and one of the first acts of the parliament was to appoint a committee of religion to consider the question. Within as without the house the general opinion was in favor of a reduction of the power and wealth of the prelates, as well as of the jurisdiction of the church courts. Even among the bishops themselves the more prominent saw the need for consenting to an abolition of chapters and bishops' courts, as well as to the election of a council of ministers in each diocese, which had been sug-

gested by Archbishop Usher as a check on episcopal autocracy. A scheme to this effect was drawn up by Bishop Williams, of Lincoln; but it was far from meeting the wishes of the general body of the commons. The part which the higher clergy had taken in lending themselves to do political work for the crown was fresh in the minds of all; and in addition to the changes which Williams proposed, Pym and Lord Falkland demanded a severance of the clergy from all secular or state offices, and an expulsion of the bishops from the house of lords. Such a measure seemed needful to restore the independent action of the peers; for the number and servility of the bishops were commonly strong enough to prevent the upper house from taking any part which was disagreeable to the crown.

1043. Further the bulk of the commons had no will to go. There were others, indeed, who were pressing hard to go further. A growing party demanded the abolition of Episcopacy altogether. The doctrines of Cartwright had risen into popularity under the persecution of Laud, and Presbyterianism was now a formidable force among the middle classes. Its chief strength lay in the eastern counties and in London, where a few clergyman, such as Calamy and Marshall, formed a committee for its diffusion; while in Parliament it was represented by Lord Brooke, Lord Mandeville, and Lord Saye and Sele. In the commons Sir Harry Vane represented a more extreme party of reformers, the Independents of the future, whose sentiments were little less hostile to Presbyterianism than to Episcopacy, but who

acted with the Presbyterians for the present, and formed a part of what became known as the "root and branch" party, from its demand for the utter extirpation of prelacy. The attitude of Scotland in the struggle against tyranny, and the political advantages of a religious union between the two kingdoms, gave force to the Presbyterian party; and the agitation which it set on foot found a vigorous support in the Scotch commissioners who had been sent to treat of peace with the parliament. Thoughtful men, too, were moved by a desire to knit the English church more closely to the general body of Protestantism. Milton, who after the composition of his "Lycidas" had spent a year in foreign travel, returned to throw himself on this ground into the theological strife. He held it "an unjust thing that the English should differ from all churches as many as be reformed." In spite of this pressure, however, and of a Presbyterian petition from London with 15,000 signatures which had been presented at the very opening of the houses, the parliament remained hostile to any change in the constitution of the church. The committee of religion reported in favor of the reforms proposed by Falkland and Pym; and on the 10th of March, 1641, a bill for the removal of bishops from the house of peers passed the commons almost unanimously.

1044 As yet all had gone well. The king made no sign of opposition. He was known to be resolute against the abolition of Episcopacy; but he announced no purpose of resisting the removal of the bishops from the house of peers. Strafford's life he

was determined to save; but he threw no obstacle in the way of his impeachment. The trial of the earl opened on the 22d of March. The whole of the house of commons appeared in Westminster Hall to support it, and the passion which the cause excited was seen in the loud cries of sympathy or hatred which burst from the crowded benches on either side as Strafford for fifteen days struggled with a remarkable courage and ingenuity against the list of charges, and melted his audience to tears by the pathos of his defense. But the trial was suddenly interrupted. Though tyranny and misgovernment had been conclusively proved against the earl, the technical proof of treason was weak. "The law of England," to use Hallam's words, "is silent as to conspiracies against itself," and treason, by the statute of Edward the Third, was restricted to a levying of war against the king or a compassing of his death. The commons endeavored to strengthen their case by bringing forward the notes of a meeting of the council in which Strafford had urged the use of his Irish troops "to reduce that kingdom to obedience;" but the lords would only admit the evidence on condition of wholly reopening the case. Pym and Hampden remained convinced of the sufficiency of the impeachment; but the house broke loose from their control. Under the guidance of St. John and Lord Falkland the commons resolved to abandon these judicial proceedings, and fall back on the resource of a bill of attainder. The bill passed the lower house on the 21st of April by a majority of 204 to 59; and on the 29th it received the assent

of the lords. The course which the parliament took has been bitterly censured by some whose opinion in such a matter is entitled to respect. But the crime of Strafford was none the less a crime that it did not fall within the scope of the statute of treasons. It is impossible, indeed, to provide for some of the greatest dangers which can happen to national freedom by any formal statute. Even now a minister might avail himself of the temper of a parliament elected in some moment of popular panic, and, though the nation returned to its senses, might simply by refusing to appeal to the country govern in defiance of its will. Such a course would be technically legal, but such a minister would be none the less a criminal. Strafford's course, whether it fell within the statute of treasons or no, was from beginning to end an attack on the freedom of the whole nation. In the last resort a nation retains the right of self-defense, and a bill of attainder is the assertion of such a right for the punishment of a public enemy who falls within the scope of no written law.

1045. The counsel of Pym and of Hampden had been prompted by no doubt of the legality of the attainder. But they looked on the impeachment as still likely to succeed, and they were anxious at this moment to conciliate the king. The real security for the permanence of the changes they had wrought lay in a lasting change in the royal counsels; and such a change it seemed possible to bring about. To save Strafford and Episcopacy, Charles listened, in the spring of 1641, to a proposal for intrusting the offices of state to the leaders of the parliament. In

this scheme the Earl of Bedford was to become lord treasurer, Pym, chancellor of the exchequer, Holles secretary of state, while Lords Essex, Mandeville, and Saye and Sele occupied various posts in the administration. Foreign affairs would have been intrusted to Lord Holland, whose policy was that of alliance with Richelieu and Holland against Spain, a policy whose adoption would have been sealed by the marriage of a daughter of Charles with the prince of Orange. With characteristic foresight Hampden sought only the charge of the Prince of Wales. He knew that the best security for freedom in the after-time would be a patriot king. Charles listened to this project with seeming assent; the only conditions he made were that Episcopacy should not be abolished, nor Strafford executed; and though the death of Lord Bedford put an end to it for the moment, the parliamentary leaders seem still to have had hopes of their entry into the royal council. But meanwhile Charles was counting the chances of a very different policy. The courtiers about him were rallying from their first panic. His French queen, furious at what she looked on as insults to royalty, and yet more furious at the persecution of the Catholics, was spurring him to violent courses. And for violence there seemed at the moment an opportunity. In Ireland, Strafford's army refused to disband itself. In Scotland the union of the nobles was already broken by the old spirit of faction; and in his jealousy of the power gained by his hereditary enemy, the Earl of Argyle, Lord Montrose had formed a party with other great nobles, and was

pressing Charles to come and carry out a counter-revolution in the north. Above all, the English army, which still lay at York, was discontented by its want of pay and by the favor shown to the Scottish soldiers in its front. The discontent was busily fanned by its officers; and a design was laid before Charles by which advantage might be taken of the humor of the army to march it upon London, to seize the Tower and free Strafford. With the earl at their head, the soldiers could then overawe the houses and free the king from his thralldom. Charles listened to the project; he refused any expression of assent; but he kept the secret, and suffered the plot to go on, while he continued the negotiations with the parliamentary leaders.

1046. But he was now in the hands of men who were his match in intrigue as they were more than his match in quickness of action. In the beginning of May, it is said through a squabble among the conspirators, the army plot became known to Pym. The moment was a critical one. Much of the energy and union of the parliament was already spent. The lords were beginning to fall back into their old position of allies of the court. They were holding at bay the bill for the expulsion of the bishops from their seats in parliament which had been sent up by the lower house, though the measure aimed at freeing the peers as a legislative body by removing from among them a body of men whose servility made them mere tools of the crown, while it averted—if but for the moment—the growing pressure for the abolition of episcopacy. Things were fast coming

to a standstill, when the discovery of the army plot changed the whole situation. Waver as the peers might, they had no mind to be tricked by the king and overawed by his soldiery. The commons were stirred to their old energy, London itself was driven to panic at the thought of passing into the hands of a mutinous and unpaid army. The general alarm sealed Strafford's doom. In plotting for his release, the plotters had marked him out as a life which was the main danger to the new state of things. Strafford still hoped in his master; he had a pledge from Charles that his life should be saved; and on the 1st of May the king, in a formal message to the parliament, had refused his assent to the bill of attainder. But the queen had no mind that her husband should suffer for a minister whom she hated, and before her pressure the king gave way. On the 10th of May he gave his assent to the bill by commission, and on the 12th Strafford passed to his doom. He died as he had lived. His friends warned him of the vast multitude gathered before the Tower to witness his fall. "I know how to look death in the face, and the people too," he answered proudly. "I thank God I am no more afraid of death, but as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time as ever I did when I went to bed." As the axe fell the silence of the great multitude was broken by a universal shout of joy. The streets blazed with bonfires. The bells clashed out from every steeple. "Many," says an observer, "that came to town to see the execution rode in triumph back, waving their hats, and with all expressions of joy through



every town they went, crying, 'His head is off! His head is off!'

1047. The failure of the attempt to establish a parliamentary ministry, the discovery of the army plot, the execution of Strafford, were the turning-points in the history of the Long Parliament. Till May, 1641, there was still hope for an accommodation between the commons and the crown by which the freedom that had been won might have been taken as the base of a new system of government. But from that hour little hope of such an agreement remained. The parliament could put no trust in the king. The air at Westminster, since the discovery of the army conspiracy, was full of rumors and panic; the creak of a few boards revived the memory of the Gunpowder Plot, and the members rushed out of the house of commons in the full belief that it was undermined. On the other hand, Charles put by all thought of reconciliation. If he had given his assent to Strafford's death, he never forgave the men who had wrested his assent from him. From that hour he regarded his consent to the new measures as having been extorted by force, and to be retracted at the first opportunity. His opponents were quick to feel the king's resolve of a counter-revolution; and both houses, in their terror, swore to defend the Protestant religion and the public liberties, an oath which was subsequently exacted from every one engaged in civil employment, and voluntarily taken by the great mass of the people. The same terror of a counter-revolution induced even Hyde and the "moderate men" in the

commons to bring in a bill providing that the present parliament should not be dissolved but by its own consent; and the same commission which gave the king's assent to Strafford's attainder gave his assent to this bill for perpetuating the parliament.

1048. Of all the demands of the parliament this was the first that could be called distinctly revolutionary. To consent to it was to establish a power permanently co-ordinate with the crown. But Charles signed the bill without protest. He had ceased to look on his acts as those of a free agent; and he was already planning the means of breaking the parliament. What had hitherto held him down was the revolt of Scotland and the pressure of the Scotch army across the border. But its payment and withdrawal could no longer be delayed. The death of Strafford was immediately followed by the conclusion of a pacification between the two countries; and the sum required for the disbanding of both armies was provided by a poll-tax. Meanwhile the houses hastened to complete their task of reform. The civil and judicial jurisdiction of the Star-chamber and the court of high commission, the irregular jurisdictions of the council of the north, the duchy of Lancaster, the county of Chester, were summarily abolished with a crowd of lesser tribunals. The work was pushed hastily on, for haste was needed. On the 6th of August the two armies were alike disbanded; and the Scots were no sooner on their way homeward than the king resolved to prevent their return. In spite of prayers from the parliament, he left London for Edinburgh, yielded

to every demand of the assembly and the Scotch estates, attended the Presbyterian worship, lavished titles and favors on the Earl of Argyle and the patriot leaders, and gained for a while a popularity which spread dismay in the English parliament. Their dread of his designs was increased when he was found to have been intriguing all the while with the Earl of Montrose—whose conspiracy had been discovered before the king's coming and rewarded with imprisonment in the castle of Edinburgh—and when Hamilton and Argyle withdrew suddenly from the capital, and charged Charles with a treacherous plot to seize and carry them out of the realm.

1049. The fright was fanned to frenzy by news which came suddenly from Ireland. The quiet of that unhappy country under Strafford's rule had been a mere quiet of terror. The Catholic Englishry were angered by the deputy's breach of faith. Before his coming, Charles had promised for a sum of £120,000 to dispense with the oath of supremacy, to suffer recusants to practice in the courts of law, and to put a stop to the constant extortion of their lands by legal process. The money was paid; but by the management of Wentworth, the "graces" which it was to bring received no confirmation from the Irish parliament. The lord deputy's policy aimed at keeping the recusants still at the mercy of the crown; what it really succeeded in doing was to rob them of any hope of justice or fair dealings from the government. The native Irishry were yet more bitterly outraged by his dealings in Connaught. Under pretext that as inhabitants of a conquered

country Irishmen had no rights but by express grant from the crown, the deputy had wrested nearly a half of the land in that province from their native holders with the view of founding a new English plantation. The new settlers were slow in coming, but the evictions and spoliation renewed the bitter wrath which had been stirred by the older plantation in Ulster. All, however, remained quiet till the fall of Strafford put an end to the semblance of rule. The disbanded soldiers of the army he had raised spread over the country, and stirred the smoldering disaffection into a flame. In October, 1641, a conspiracy, organized with wonderful power and secrecy, by Sir Phelim O'Neal burst forth in Ulster, where the confiscation of the settlement had never been forgiven, and spread like wildfire over the center and west of the island. Dublin was saved by a mere chance; but in the open country the work of murder went on unchecked. Thousands of English people perished in a few days, and rumor doubled and trebled the number. Tales of horror and outrage, such as maddened our own England when they reached us from Cawnpore, came day after day over the Irish channel. Sworn depositions told how husbands were cut to pieces in presence of their wives, their children's brains dashed out before their faces, their daughters brutally violated and driven out naked to perish frozen in the woods. "Some," says May, "were burned on set purpose, others drowned for sport or pastime, and if they swam, kept from landing with poles, or shot, or murdered in the water; many were buried

quick, and some set into the earth breast-high and there left to famish."

1050. Much of all this was the wild exaggeration of panic, but there was enough in the revolt to carry terror to the hearts of Englishmen. It was unlike any earlier rising in its religious character. It was no longer a struggle, as of old, of Celt against Saxon, but of Catholic against Protestant. The papists within the Pale joined hands in it with the wild kernes outside the Pale. When the governing body of the rebels met at Kells in the following spring, they called themselves "Confederate Catholics," resolved to defend "the public and free exercise of the true and Catholic Roman religion." The panic waxed greater when it was found that they claimed to be acting by the king's commission, and in aid of his authority. They professed to stand by Charles and his heirs against all that should "directly and indirectly endeavor to suppress their royal prerogatives." They showed a commission, purporting to have been issued by royal command at Edinburgh, and styled themselves "the king's army." The commission was a forgery, but belief in it was quickened by the want of all sympathy with the national honor which Charles displayed. To him the revolt seemed a useful check on his opponents. "I hope," he wrote coolly, when the news reached him, "this ill news of Ireland may hinder some of these follies in England." In any case it would necessitate the raising of an army, and with an army at his command he would again be the master of the parliament. The parliament, on the

other hand, saw in the Irish revolt, the news of which met them but a few days after their reassembly at the close of October, the disclosure of a vast scheme for a counter-revolution, of which the withdrawal of the Scotch army, the reconciliation of Scotland, the intrigues of Edinburgh, were all parts. Its terror was quickened into panic by the exultation of the royalists at the king's return to London at the close of November, and by the appearance of a royalist party in the parliament itself.

1051. The new party had been silently organized by Hyde, the future Lord Clarendon. To Hyde and to the men who gathered round him enough seemed to have been done. They clung to the law, but the law had been vindicated. They bitterly resented the system of Strafford and of Laud; but the system was at an end. They believed that English freedom hung on the assembly of parliament and on the loyal co-operation of the crown with this great council of the realm, but the assembly of parliaments was now secured by the triennial bill, and the king professed himself ready to rule according to the counsels of parliament. On the other hand, they desired to preserve to the crown the right and power it had had under the Tudors. They revolted from any attempt to give the houses a share in the actual work of administration. On both political and religious grounds they were resolute to suffer no change in the relations of the church to the state, or to weaken the prerogative of the crown by the establishment of a Presbyterianism which asserted any sort of spiritual independence. More complex impulses told on the

course of Lord Falkland. Falkland was a man learned and accomplished, the center of a circle which embraced the most liberal thinkers of his day. He was a keen reasoner and an able speaker. But he was the center of that latitudinarian party which was slowly growing up in the reaction from the dogmatism of the time, and his most passionate longing was for liberty of religious thought. Such a liberty the system of the Stuarts had little burdened; what Laud pressed for was uniformity, not of speculation, but of practice and ritual. But the temper of Puritanism was a dogmatic temper, and the tone of the parliament already threatened a narrowing of the terms of speculative belief for the church of England. While this fear estranged Falkland from the parliament, his dread of a conflict with the crown, his passionate longing for peace, his sympathy for the fallen, led him to struggle for a king whom he distrusted, and to die in a cause that was not his own. Behind Falkland and Hyde soon gathered a strong force of supporters: chivalrous soldiers like Sir Edmund Verney ( "I have eaten the king's bread and served him now thirty years, and I will not do so base a thing as to distrust him"), as well as men frightened at the rapid march of change, or by the dangers which threatened Episcopacy and the church. And with these stood the few but ardent partisans of the court; and the time-servers who had been swept along by the tide of popular passion, but who had believed its force to be spent, and looked forward to a new triumph of the crown.

1052. With a broken parliament, and perils gath-

ering without, Pym resolved to appeal for aid to the nation itself. The solemn remonstrance which he laid before the house of commons in November was in effect an appeal to the country at large. It is this purpose that accounts for its unusual form. The remonstrance was more an elaborate state paper than a petition to the king. It told in a detailed narrative the work which the parliament had done, the difficulties it had surmounted, and the new dangers which lay in its path. The parliament had been charged with a design to abolish episcopacy, it declared its purpose to be simply that of reducing the power of bishops. Politically, it repudiated the taunt of revolutionary aims. It demanded only the observance of the existing laws against recusancy, securities for the due administration of justice, and the employment of ministers who possessed the confidence of parliament. The new king's party fought fiercely against its adoption: debate followed debate; the sittings were prolonged till lights had to be brought in; and it was only at midnight, and by a majority of eleven, that the remonstrance was finally adopted. On an attempt of the minority to offer a formal protest against a subsequent vote for its publication, the slumbering passion broke out into a flame. "Some waved their hats over their heads, and others took their swords in their scabbards out of their belts, and held them by the pommels in their hands, setting the lower part on the ground." Only Hampden's coolness and tact averted a conflict. The remonstrance was felt on both sides to be a crisis in the struggle. "Had it been rejected," said Crom-



well as he left the house, "I would have sold to-morrow all I possess, and left England forever!" It was presented to Charles on the 1st of December, and the king listened to it sullenly; but it kindled afresh the spirit of the country. London swore to live and die with the parliament; associations were formed in every county for the defense of the houses; and when the guard which the commons had asked for in the panic of the army plot was withdrawn by the king, the populace crowded down to Westminster to take its place.

1053. The gathering passion soon passed into actual strife. Pym and his colleagues saw that the disunion in their ranks sprang, above all, from the question of the church. On the one side were the Presbyterian zealots who were clamoring for the abolition of episcopacy. On the other were the conservative tempers, who, in the dread of such demands, were beginning to see in the course of the parliament a threat against the church which they loved. To put an end to the pressure of the one party and the dread of the other, Pym took his stand on the compromise suggested by the committee of religion in the spring. The bill for the removal of bishops from the house of lords had been rejected by the lords on the eve of the king's journey to Scotland. It was now again introduced. But, in spite of violent remonstrances from the commons, the bill still hung fire among the peers; and the delay roused the excited crowd of Londoners who gathered round Whitehall. The bishops' carriages were stopped, and the prelates themselves rabbled on the way to their house. At

the close of December the angry pride of Williams induced ten of his fellow-bishops to declare themselves prevented from attendance in parliament, and to protest against all acts done in their absence as null and void. Such a protest was utterly unconstitutional; and, even on the part of the peers, who had been maintaining the bishops' rights, it was met by the committal of the prelates who had signed it to the Tower. But the contest gave a powerful aid to the projects of the king. The courtiers declared openly that the rabbling of the bishops proved that there was "no free parliament," and strove to bring about fresh outrages by gathering troops of officers and soldiers of fortune, who were seeking for employment in the Irish war, and pitting them against the crowds at Whitehall. The combatants pelted one another with nicknames, which were soon to pass into history. To wear his hair long and flowing almost to the shoulder was at this time the mark of a gentleman, whether Puritan or anti-Puritan. Servants, on the other hand, or apprentices wore the hair closely cropped to the head. The crowds who flocked to Westminster were chiefly made up of London apprentices; and their opponents taunted them as "roundheads." They replied by branding the courtiers about Whitehall as soldiers of fortune or "cavaliers." The gentlemen who gathered round the king in the coming struggle were as far from being military adventurers as the gentlemen who fought for the parliament were London apprentices; but the words soon passed into nicknames for the whole mass of royalists and patriots.

1054. From nicknames the soldiers and apprentices soon passed to actual brawls; and the strife beneath its walls created fresh alarm in the parliament. But Charles persisted in refusing it a guard. "On the honor of a king" he engaged to defend them from violence as completely as his own children, but the answer had hardly been given when his attorney appeared at the bar of the lords, and accused Hampden, Pym, Hollis, Strode, and Haselrig of high treason in their correspondence with the Scots. A herald-at-arms appeared at the bar of the commons and demanded the surrender of the five members. All constitutional law was set aside by a charge which proceeded personally from the king, which deprived the accused of their legal right to a trial by their peers, and summoned them before a tribunal that had no pretense to a jurisdiction over them. The commons simply promised to take the demand into consideration. They again requested a guard. "I will reply to-morrow," said the king. He had, in fact, resolved to seize the members in the house itself; and on the morrow, the 4th of January, 1642, he summoned the gentlemen who clustered about Whitehall to follow him, and embracing the queen, whose violent temper had urged him to this outrage, promised her that in an hour he would return master of his kingdom.

1055. A mob of cavaliers joined him as he left the palace, and remained in Westminster Hall as Charles, accompanied by his nephew, the elector-palatine, entered the house of commons. "Mr. Speaker," he said, "I must for a time borrow your chair!" He

paused with a sudden confusion as his eye fell on the vacant spot where Pym commonly sat; for at the news of his approach the house had ordered the five members to withdraw. "Gentlemen," he began in slow broken sentences, "I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you. Yesterday I sent a sergeant-at-arms upon a very important occasion to apprehend some that by my command were accused of high treason, whereunto I did expect obedience and not a message." "Treason," he went on, had no privilege, "and, therefore, I am come to know if any of these persons that were accused are here." There was a dead silence, only broken by his reiterated "I must have them wheresoever I find them." He again paused, but the stillness was unbroken. Then he called out, "Is Mr. Pym here?" There was no answer; and Charles, turning to the speaker, asked him whether the five members were there. Lenthall fell on his knees, and replied that he had neither eyes nor tongue to see or say anything save what the house commanded him. "Well, well," Charles angrily retorted, "'tis no matter. I think my eyes are as good as another's!" There was another long pause while he looked carefully over the ranks of members. "I see," he said at last, "my birds are flown, but I do expect you will send them to me." If they did not, he added, he would seek them himself; and with a closing protest that he never intended any force, "he went out of the house," says an eyewitness, "in a more discontented and angry passion than he came in."

1056. Nothing but the absence of the five members

and the calm dignity of the commons had prevented the king's outrage from ending in bloodshed. "It was believed," says Whitelock, who was present at the scene, "that if the king had found them there, and called in his guards to have seized them, the members of the house would have endeavored the defense of them, which might have proved a very unhappy and sad business." Five hundred gentlemen of the best blood in England would hardly have stood tamely by while the bravoës of Whitehall laid hands on their leaders in the midst of the parliament. But Charles was blind to the danger of his course. The five members had taken refuge in the city, and it was there that on the next day the king himself demanded their surrender from the aldermen at Guildhall. Cries of "privilege" rang round him as he returned through the streets; the writs issued for the arrest of the five were disregarded by the sheriffs; and a proclamation issued four days later, declaring them traitors, passed without notice. Terror drove the cavaliers from Whitehall, and Charles stood absolutely alone; for the outrage had severed him for the moment from his new friends in the parliament, and from the ministers, Falkland and Colepepper, whom he had chosen among them. But lonely as he was, Charles had resolved on war. The Earl of Newcastle was dispatched to muster a royal force in the north; and on the tenth of January news that the five members were about to return in triumph to Westminster drove Charles from Whitehall. He retired to Hampton Court and to Windsor, while the trained bands of London and Southwark, on foot,

and the London watermen, on the river, all sworn "to guard the parliament, the kingdom, and the king," escorted Pym and his fellow-members along the Thames to the house of commons. Both sides prepared for a struggle which was now inevitable. The queen sailed from Dover, with the crown jewels, to buy munitions of war. The cavaliers again gathered round the king, and the royalist press flooded the country with state papers drawn up by Hyde. On the other hand, the commons resolved by vote to secure the great arsenals of the kingdom, Hull, Portsmouth, and the Tower; while mounted processions of freeholders from Buckinghamshire and Kent traversed London on their way to St. Stephen's, vowing to live and die with the parliament.

1057. The lords were scared out of their policy of obstruction by Pym's bold announcement of the position taken by the house of commons. "The commons," said their leader, "will be glad to have your concurrence and help in saving the kingdom; but if they fail of it, it should not discourage them in doing their duty. And whether the kingdom be lost or saved, they shall be sorry that the story of this present parliament should tell posterity that in so great a danger and extremity the house of commons should be enforced to save the kingdom alone." The effect of these words was seen in the passing of the bill for excluding bishops from the house of lords, the last act of this parliament to which Charles gave his assent. The great point, however, was to secure armed support from the nation at large, and

here both sides were in a difficulty. Previous to the innovations introduced by the Tudors, and which had been taken away by the bill against pressing soldiers, the king in himself had no power of calling on his subjects generally to bear arms, save for the purpose of restoring order or meeting foreign invasion. On the other hand, no one contended that such a power had ever been exercised by the two houses without the king; and Charles steadily refused to consent to a militia bill, in which the command of the national force was given in every county to men devoted to the parliamentary cause. Both parties, therefore, broke through constitutional precedent, the parliament in appointing lord lieutenants of the militia by ordinance of the two houses, Charles in levying forces by royal commissions of array.

1058. But the king's great difficulty lay in procuring arms, and on the 23d of April he suddenly appeared before Hull, the magazine of the north, and demanded admission. The new governor, Sir John Hotham, fell on his knees, but refused to open the gates; and the avowal of his act by the parliament was followed at the end of May by the withdrawal of the royalist party among its members from their seats at Westminster. Falkland, Colepepper, and Hyde, with thirty-two peers and sixty members of the house of commons, joined Charles at York; and Lyttelton, the lord keeper, followed with the great seal. But one of their aims in joining the king was to put a check on his projects of war; and their efforts were backed by the general opposition of

the country. A great meeting of the Yorkshire freeholders which Charles convened on Heyworth Moor ended in a petition praying him to be reconciled to the parliament; and in spite of gifts of plate from the universities and nobles of his party, arms and money were still wanting for his new levies. The two houses, on the other hand, gained in unity and vigor by the withdrawal of the royalists. The militia was rapidly enrolled, Lord Warwick named to the command of the fleet, and a loan opened in the city to which the women brought even their wedding-rings. The tone of the two houses rose with the threat of force. It was plain at last that nothing but actual compulsion could bring Charles to rule as a constitutional sovereign; and the last proposals of the parliament demanded the powers of appointing and dismissing the ministers, of naming guardians for the royal children, and of virtually controlling military, civil, and religious affairs. "If I granted your demands," replied Charles, "I should be no more than the mere phantom of a king."

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## CHAPTER IX.

### THE CIVIL WAR.

1642—1646.

1059. THE breaking off of negotiations was followed on both sides by preparations for immediate war. Hampden, Pym, and Hollis became the guiding spirits of a committee of public safety which was



created by parliament as its administrative organ. On the 12th of July, 1642, the houses ordered that an army should be raised "for the defense of the king and the parliament," and appointed the Earl of Essex as its captain-general and the Earl of Bedford as its general of horse. The force soon rose to 20,000 foot and 4000 horse, and English and Scotch officers were drawn from the Low Countries. The confidence on the parliamentary side was great. "We all thought one battle would decide," Baxter confessed after the first encounter; for the king was almost destitute of money and arms, and in spite of his strenuous efforts to raise recruits he was embarrassed by the reluctance of his own adherents to begin the struggle. Resolved, however, to force on a contest, he raised the royal standard at Nottingham "on the evening of a very stormy and tempestuous day," the 23d of August, but the country made no answer to his appeal. Meanwhile Lord Essex, who had quitted London amidst the shouts of a great multitude, with orders from the parliament to follow the king, "and by battle or other way rescue him from his perfidious councilors and restore him to parliament," was mustering his army at Northampton. Charles had but a handful of men, and the dash of a few regiments of horse would have ended the war; but Essex shrank from a decisive stroke, and trusted to reduce the king peacefully to submission by a show of force. But while Essex lingered Charles fell back at the close of September on Shrewsbury, and the whole face of affairs suddenly changed. Catholics and Royalists rallied fast to his

standard, and the royal force became strong enough to take the field. With his usual boldness Charles resolved to march at once on the capital and force the parliament to submit by dint of arms. But the news of his march roused Essex from his inactivity. He had advanced to Worcester to watch the king's proceedings; and he now hastened to protect London. On the 23d of October, 1642, the two armies fell in with one another on the field of Edgehill, near Banbury. The encounter was a surprise, and the battle which followed was little more than a confused combat of horse. At its outset the desertion of Sir Faithful Fortescue with a whole regiment threw the parliamentary forces into disorder, while the royalist horse on either wing drove their opponents from the field; but the reserve of Lord Essex broke the foot which formed the center of the king's line, and though his nephew, Prince Rupert, brought back his squadrons in time to save Charles from capture or flight, the night fell on a drawn battle.

1060. The moral advantage, however, rested with the king. Essex had learned that his troopers were no match for the cavaliers, and his withdrawal to Warwick left open the road to the capital. Rupert pressed for an instant march on London, where the approach of the king's forces had roused utter panic. But the proposal found stubborn opponents among the moderate royalists, who dreaded the complete triumph of Charles as much as his defeat; and their pressure forced the king to pause for a time at Oxford, where he was received with uproarious welcome. When the cowardice of its garrison delivered Read-

ing to Rupert's horse, and his daring capture of Brentford in November drew the royal army in his support almost to the walls of the capital, the panic of the Londoners was already over, and the junction of their trainbands with the army of Essex forced Charles to fall back again on his old quarters. But though the parliament rallied quickly from the blow of Edgehill, the war, as its area widened through the winter, went steadily for the king. The fortification of Oxford gave him a firm hold on the midland counties; while the balance of the two parties in the north was overthrown by the march of the Earl of Newcastle, with a force he had raised in Northumberland, upon York. Lord Fairfax, the parliamentary leader in that county, was thrown back by Newcastle's attack on the manufacturing towns of the West Riding, where Puritanism found its stronghold; and the arrival of the queen in February, 1643, with arms from Holland, encouraged the royal army to push its scouts across the Trent, and threaten the eastern counties, which held firmly for the parliament. The stress of the war was shown by the vigorous efforts of the houses. Some negotiations which had gone on into the spring were broken off by the old demand that the king should return to his parliament; London was fortified; and a tax of two millions a year was laid on the districts which adhered to the parliamentary cause.

1061. In the spring of 1643 Lord Essex, whose army had been freshly equipped, was ordered to advance upon Oxford. But though the king held himself ready to fall back on the west, the earl shrank

from again risking his raw army in an encounter. He confined himself to the recapture of Reading and to a month of idle encampment round Brill. But while disease thinned his ranks and the royalists beat up his quarters, the war went more and more for the king. The inaction of Essex enabled Charles to send a part of his small force at Oxford to strengthen a royalist rising in the west. Nowhere was the royal cause to take so brave or noble a form as among the Cornishmen. Cornwall stood apart from the general life of England: cut off from it not only by differences of blood and speech, but by the feudal tendencies of its people, who clung with a Celtic loyalty to their local chieftains, and suffered their fidelity to the crown to determine their own. They had as yet done little more than keep the war out of their own county; but the march of a small parliamentary force under Lord Stamford upon Launceston forced them into action. In May, 1643, a little band of Cornishmen gathered round the chivalrous Sir Bevil Greenvil, "so destitute of provisions that the best officers had but a biscuit a day," and with only a handful of powder for the whole force, but, starving and outnumbered as they were, they scaled the steep rise of Stratton Hill, sword in hand, and drove Stamford back on Exeter with a loss of two thousand men, his ordnance and baggage train. Sir Ralph Hopton, the best of the royalist generals, took the command of their army as it advanced into Somerset, and drew the stress of the war into the west. Essex dispatched a picked force under Sir William Waller to check their advance;

but Somerset was already lost ere he reached Bath, and the Cornishmen stormed his strong position on Lansdowne Hill in the teeth of his guns. The stubborn fight robbed the victors of their leaders; Hopton was wounded, Greenvil slain, and with them fell the two heroes of the little army, Sir Nicholas Slanning and Sir John Trevanion, "both young, neither of them above eight and twenty, of entire friendship to one another, and to Sir Bevil Greenvil." Waller too, beaten as he was, hung on their weakened force as it moved for aid upon Oxford, and succeeded in cooping up the foot in Devizes. But in July the horse broke through his lines; and joining a force which Charles had sent to their relief, turned back, and dashed Waller's army to pieces in a fresh victory on Roundway Down.

1062. The Cornish rising seemed to decide the fortune of the war; and the succors which his queen was bringing him from the army of the north determined Charles to make a fresh advance upon London. He was preparing for this advance when Rupert sallied from Oxford to beat up the quarters of the army under Essex, which still remained encamped about Thame. Foremost among this parliamentary force were the "Greencoats" of John Hampden. From the first outbreak of warfare Hampden had shown the same energy in the field that he had shown in the parliament. He had contributed £2000 to the loan raised by the houses for the equipment of an army. He had raised a regiment from among his own tenantry, with the parson of Great Hampden for their chaplain. The men wore his livery of

green, as those of Hollis or Brooke or Mandeville wore their leaders' liveries of red, and purple, and blue; the only sign of their common soldiership being the orange scarf, the color of Lord Essex, which all wore over their uniform. From the first the "greencoats" had been foremost in the fray. While Essex lay idly watching the gathering of an army round the king, Hampden was already engaged with the royal outposts. It was the coming up of his men that turned the day at Edgehill; and that again saved Lord Brooke from destruction in the repulse of the royal forces at Brentford. It was Hampden's activity that saved Reading from a second capture. During the gloomy winter, when the fortunes of the houses seemed at their worst, his energy redoubled. His presence was as necessary in the parliament as in the field; and he was continually on the road between London and Westminster. It was during these busy months that he brought into practical shape a league which was destined to be the mainstay of the parliamentary force. Nowhere was the Puritan feeling so strong as in the counties about London, in his own Buckinghamshire, in Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, and the more easterly counties of Huntingdon, Cambridge, and Northampton. Hampden's influence as well as that of his cousin, Oliver Cromwell, who was already active in the war, was bent to bind these shires together in an association for the aid of the parliament, with a common force, a common fund for its support, and Lord Manchester for its head. The association was at last brought about;

and Hampden turned his energies to reinforcing the army of Essex.

1063. The army was strengthened; but no efforts could spur its leader into activity. Essex had learned his trade in the Thirty Years' war, and like most professional soldiers he undervalued the worth of untrained levies. As a great noble, too, he shrank from active hostilities against the king. He believed that in the long-run the want of money and of men would force Charles to lay down his arms, and to come to a peaceful understanding with the parliament. To such a fair adjustment of the claims of both a victory of the parliament would, he thought, be as fatal as a victory of the king. Against this policy of inaction Hampden struggled in vain. It was to no purpose that he urged Essex to follow Charles after Edgehill, or to attack him after his repulse before Brentford. It was equally to no purpose that he urged, at the opening of 1643, an attack upon Oxford. Essex drew nearer to the town, indeed; but at the news of the queen's junction with her husband, and of the successes of the Cornishmen, he fell back to his old cantonment about Thame. Hampden's knowledge of the country warned him of danger from the loose disposition of the army, and he urged Essex to call in the distant outposts and strengthen his line; but his warnings were unheeded. So carelessly were the troops scattered about that Rupert resolved to beat up their quarters; and leaving Oxford in the afternoon of Saturday, the 17th of June, he seized the bridge over the Thame at Chiselhampton, and leaving a force of

foot to secure his retreat, threw himself boldly with his horsemen into the midst of the parliamentary army. Essex with the bulk of his men lay quietly sleeping a few miles to the northward at Thame as Rupert struck in the darkness through the leafy lanes that led to the Chilterns, and swooped on the villages that lay beneath their slopes. At three in the morning he fell on the troops quartered at Postcombe, then on those at Chinnor. Here some fifty were slain, and more taken prisoners, as they sprang half naked from their beds. The village was fired, and Rupert again called his men together to pursue their foray. But the early summer sun had now risen; it was too late to attack Wycombe as he had purposed; and the horsemen fell back again through Tetsworth to secure their retreat across the Thames.

1064. It was time to think of retreat, for Hampden was already in pursuit. He had slept at Watlington; but the tidings of the foray in the village hard by roused him from slumber, and he at once dispatched a trooper to Essex to bid the earl send foot and horse and cut off the prince from Chiselhampton bridge. Essex objected and delayed till Hampden's patience broke down. The thought of his own village blazing in that Sunday dawn, his own friends and tenants stretched dead in the village streets, carried him beyond all thought of prudence. A troop of horse volunteered to follow him, and few as they were, he pushed at once with them for the bridge. The morning was now far gone; and Rupert had reached Chalgrove field, a broad space without inclosures, where he had left his foot drawn up amid



the standing corn to secure his retreat. To Hampden the spot was a memorable one; it was there, if we trust a royalist legend, that "he first mustered and drew up men in arms to rebel against the king." But he had little time for memories such as these. His resolve was to hold Rupert by charge after charge till Essex could come up; and the arrival of these troops of horse with some dragoons enabled him to attack. The attack was roughly beaten off, and the assailants thrown into confusion, but Hampden rallied the broken troops and again led them on. Again they were routed, and Rupert drew off across the river without further contest. It was indeed only the courage of Hampden that had fired his little troop to face the cavaliers; and he could fire them no more. In the last charge a shot struck him in the shoulder and disabled his sword-arm. His head bending down, his hands resting on his horse's neck, he rode off the field before the action was done, "a thing he never used to do." The story of the country-side told how the wounded man rode first toward Pyrton. It was the village where he had wedded the wife he loved so well, and beyond it among the beech-trees of the Chilterns lay his own house of Hampden. But it was not there that he was to die. A party of royalists drove him back from Pyrton, and turning northward he paused for a moment at a little brook that crossed his path, then gathering strength, leaped it, and rode almost fainting to Thame. At first the surgeons gave hopes of his recovery, but hope was soon over. For six days he lay in growing agony, sending counsel after

counsel to the parliament, till on the 24th of June the end drew near. "O Lord, save my country," so ended Hampden's prayers; "O Lord, be merciful to——!" here his speech failed him, and he fell back lifeless on his bed. With arms reversed and muffled flags, his own men bore him through the lanes and woods he knew so well to the little church that still stands unchanged beside his home. On the floor of its chancel the brasses of his father and his grandfather mark their graves. A step nearer to the altar, unmarked by brass or epitaph, lies the grave in which, with bitter tears and cries, his greencoats laid the body of the leader whom they loved. "Never were heard such piteous cries at the death of one man as at Master Hampden's." With him, indeed, all seemed lost. But bitter as were their tears, a noble faith lifted these Puritans out of despair. As they bore him to his grave they sang, in the words of the ninetieth psalm, how fleeting in the sight of the divine eternity is the life of man. But, as they turned away, the yet nobler words of the forty-third psalm broke from their lips, as they prayed that the God who had smitten them would send out anew his light and his truth, that they might lead them and bring them to his holy hill. "Why art thou cast down, O my soul, and why art thou so disquieted within me? Hope in God, for I shall yet praise him, which is the help of my countenance and my God!"

1065. To royalists as to parliamentarians the death of Hampden seemed an omen of ruin to the cause he loved. Disaster followed disaster: Essex, more and

more anxious for a peace, fell back on Uxbridge; while a cowardly surrender of Bristol to Prince Rupert gave Charles the second city of the kingdom, and the mastery of the west. The news of the loss of Bristol fell on the parliament "like a sentence of death." The lords debated nothing but proposals of peace. London itself was divided. "A great multitude of the wives of substantial citizens" clamored at the door of the commons for peace; and a flight of six of the few peers who remained at Westminster to the camp at Oxford proved the general despair of the parliament's success. From this moment, however, the firmness of the parliamentary leaders began slowly to reverse the fortunes of the war. If Hampden was gone, Pym remained; and while weaker men despaired, Pym was toiling night and day to organize a future victory. The spirit of the commons was worthy of their great leader; and Waller was received on his return from Roundway Hill "as if he had brought the king prisoner with him." The committee of public safety were lavish of men and money. Essex was again reinforced. The new army of the associated counties, which had been placed under the command of Lord Manchester, was ordered to check the progress of Newcastle in the north. But it was in the west that the danger was greatest. Prince Maurice continued his brother Rupert's career of success, and his conquest of Barnstaple and Exeter secured Devon for the king. Gloucester alone interrupted the communications between the royal forces in Bristol and those in the north; and at the opening of August Charles moved

against the city with hope of a speedy surrender. But the gallant resistance of the town called Essex to its relief. It was reduced to a single barrel of powder when the earl's approach forced Charles to raise the siege on the 6th of September; and the Puritan army fell steadily back again on London after an indecisive engagement near Newbury, in which Lord Falkland fell, "ingeminating 'peace, peace!'" and the London trainbands flung Rupert's horsemen roughly off their front of pikes.

1066. The relief of Gloucester proved to be the turning-point of the war. It was not merely that Charles had met with a repulse; it was that he had missed a victory, and that in the actual posture of affairs nothing but a great victory could have saved the king. For the day which witnessed the triumphant return of Essex witnessed the solemn taking of the covenant. Pym had resolved at last to fling the Scotch sword into the wavering balance; and in the darkest hour of the parliament's cause Sir Harry Vane had been dispatched to Edinburgh to arrange the terms on which the aid of Scotland would be given. First among these terms stood the demand of a "unity in religion;" an adoption, in other words, of the Presbyterian system by the church of England. To such a change Pym had been steadily opposed. He had even withstood Hampden when, after the passing of the bill for the expulsion of bishops from the house of peers, Hampden had pressed for the abolition of episcopacy. But events had moved so rapidly since the earlier debates on church government that some arrangement of this

kind had become a necessity. The bishops to a man, and the bulk of the clergy whose bent was purely episcopal, had joined the royal cause, and were being expelled from their livings as "delinquents." Some new system of church government was imperatively called for by the religious necessities of the country; and though Pym and the leading statesmen were still in opinion moderate Episcopalians, the growing force of Presbyterianism, and still more the absolute need of Scottish aid and the needs of the war, forced them to seek such a system in the adoption of the Scotch discipline.

1067. Scotland, for its part, saw that the triumph of the parliament was necessary for its own security. Whatever difficulties stood in the way of Vane's wary and rapid negotiations were removed, in fact, by the policy of the king. While the parliament looked for aid to the north, Charles had been seeking assistance from the Irish rebels. Though the massacre had left them the objects of a vengeful hate such as England had hardly known before, with the king they were simply counters in his game of kingcraft. Their rising had now grown into an organized rebellion. In October, 1642, an assembly of the confederate Catholics gathered at Kilkenny. Eleven Catholic bishops, fourteen peers and 226 commoners, of English and Irish blood alike, formed this body, which assumed every prerogative of sovereignty, communicated with foreign powers, and raised an army to vindicate Irish independence. In spite of this Charles had throughout the year been intriguing with the confederates through Lord

Flamorgan; and though his efforts to secure their direct aid were for some time fruitless he succeeded in September in bringing about an armistice between their forces and the army under the Earl of Ormond, which had as yet held them in check. The truce left this army at the king's disposal for service in England; while it secured him as the price of this armistice a pledge from the Catholics that they would support his cause. With their aid Charles thought himself strong enough to strike a blow at the government in Edinburgh; and the Irish Catholics promised to support by their landing in Argyleshire a rising of the highlanders under Montrose. None of the king's schemes proved so fatal to his cause as these. On their discovery officer after officer in his own army flung down their commissions, the peers who had fled to Oxford fled back again to London, and the royalist reaction in the parliament itself came utterly to an end. Scotland, anxious for its own safety, hastened to sign the covenant; and on the 25th of September, 1643, the commons, "with uplifted hands," swore in St. Margaret's church to observe it. They pledged themselves to "bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, direction for worship, and catechizing; that we, and our posterity after us, may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to live in the midst of us;" to extirpate popery, prelacy, superstition, schism, and profaneness; to "preserve the rights and privileges of the parliament, and the

liberties of the kingdom;" to punish malignants and opponents of reformation in church and state; to "unite the two kingdoms in a firm peace and union to all posterity." The covenant ended with a solemn acknowledgment of national sin, and a vow of reformation. "Our true, unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavor for ourselves and all others under our power and charge, both in public and private, in all duties we owe to God and man, is to amend our lives, and each to go before another in the example of a real reformation."

1068. The conclusion of the covenant had been the last work of Pym. He died on December 6, 1643, and a "committee of the two kingdoms" which was intrusted after his death with the conduct of the war and of foreign affairs did their best to carry out the plans he had formed for the coming year. The vast scope of these plans bears witness to his amazing ability. Three strong armies, comprising a force of 50,000 men, appeared in the field in the spring of 1644, ready to co-operate with the Scots in the coming campaign. The presence of the Scottish army, indeed, changed the whole face of the war. With Lord Leven at its head, it crossed the border in January "in a great frost and snow;" and Newcastle, who was hoping to be reinforced by detachments from Ormond's army, was forced to hurry northward single-handed to arrest its march. He succeeded in checking Leven at Sunderland, but his departure freed the hands of Fairfax, who in spite of defeat still clung to the West Riding. With the activity of a true soldier Fairfax threw himself on

the forces from Ormond's army who had landed at Chester, and, after cutting them to pieces at Nantwich on the 25th of January, marched as rapidly back upon York. Here he was joined by the army of the associated counties, a force of 14,000 men under the command of Lord Manchester, but in which Cromwell's name was becoming famous as a leader. The two armies at once drove the force left behind by Newcastle to take shelter within the walls of York, and formed the siege of that city. The danger of York called Newcastle back to its relief; but he was too weak to effect it, and the only issue of his return was the junction of the Scots with its besiegers. The plans of Pym were now rapidly developed. While Manchester and Fairfax united with Lord Leven under the walls of York, Waller, who with the army of the west had held Prince Maurice in check in Dorsetshire, marched quickly to a junction with Essex, whose army had been watching Charles; and the two forces formed a blockade of Oxford.

1069. Charles was thrown suddenly on the defensive. The Irish troops, on which he counted as a balance to the Scots, had been cut to pieces by Fairfax or by Waller, and both in the north and in the south he seemed utterly overmatched. But he was far from despairing. Before the advance of Essex he had answered Newcastle's cry for aid by dispatching Prince Rupert from Oxford to gather forces on the Welsh border; and the brilliant partisan, after breaking the sieges of Newark and Latham House, burst over the Lancashire hills into York-



hire, slipped by the parliamentary army, and made his way untouched into York. But the success of his feat of arms tempted him to a fresh act of daring. He resolved on a decisive battle; and on the 2d of July, 1644, a discharge of musketry from the two armies as they faced each other on Marston Moor brought on, as evening gathered, a disorderly engagement. On the one flank a charge of the king's horse broke that of the Scotch; on the other, Cromwell's brigade of "Ironsides" won as complete a success over Rupert's troopers. "God made them as stubble to our swords," wrote the general at the close of the day; but in the heat of victory he called back his men from the chase to back Manchester in his attack on the royalist foot, and to rout their other wing of horse as it returned breathless from pursuing the Scots. Nowhere had the fighting been so fierce. A young Puritan who lay dying on the field told Cromwell, as he bent over him, that one thing lay on his spirit. "I asked him what it was," Cromwell wrote afterward. "He told me it was that God had not suffered him to be any more the executioner of his enemies."

1670. At nightfall all was over; and the royalist cause in the north had perished at a blow. Newcastle fled over sea; York surrendered, and Rupert, with hardly a man at his back, rode southward to Oxford. The blow was the more terrible that it fell on Charles at a moment when his danger in the south was being changed into triumph by a series of brilliant and unexpected successes. After a month's siege the king had escaped from Oxford; had waited

till Essex, vexed at having missed his prey, had marched to attack what he looked on as the main royalist force, that under Maurice in the west; and then, turning fiercely on Waller at Cropredy bridge, had driven him back broken to London, two days before the battle of Marston Moor. Charles followed up his success by hurrying in the track of Essex, whom he hoped to crush between his own force and that under Maurice; and when, by a fatal error, Essex plunged into Cornwall, where the country was hostile, the king hemmed him in among the hills, and drew his lines tightly round his army. On the 2d of September the whole body of the foot were forced to surrender at his mercy, while the horse cut their way through the besiegers, and Essex himself fled by sea to London. Nor was this the only reverse of fortune which brought hope to the royal cause. The day on which the army of Essex surrendered to the king was marked by a royalist triumph in Scotland which promised to undo what Marston Moor had done. The Irish Catholics fulfilled their covenant with Charles by the landing of Irish soldiers in Argyle; and as had long since been arranged, Montrose, throwing himself into the Highlands, called the clans to arms. Flinging his new force on that of the covenanters at Tippermuir, he gained a victory which enabled him to occupy Perth, to sack Aberdeen, and to spread terror to Edinburgh. The news at once told. The Scottish army in England refused to march further from its own country; and used the siege of Newcastle as a pretext to remain near the border. With the army of Essex

annihilated and the Scots at a safe distance no obstacle seemed to lie between the king and London: and as he came up from the west Charles again marched on the capital. But if the Scots were detained at Newcastle the rest of the victors at Marston Moor lay in his path at Newbury; and their force was strengthened by the soldiers who had surrendered in Cornwall, but whom the energy of the parliament had again brought into the field. On the 27th of October, Charles fell on this army under Lord Manchester's command; but the charges of the royalists failed to break the parliamentary squadrons, and the soldiers of Essex wiped away the shame of their defeat by flinging themselves on the cannon they had lost, and bringing them back in triumph to their lines. Cromwell seized the moment of victory, and begged hard to be suffered to charge with his single brigade. But Manchester shrank like Essex from a crowning victory over the king. Charles was allowed to withdraw his army to Oxford, and even to reappear unchecked in the field of his defeat.

1071. The quarrel of Cromwell with Lord Manchester at Newbury was destined to give a new color to the war. Pym, in fact, had hardly been borne to his grave in Westminster Abbey before England instinctively recognized a successor of yet greater genius in the victor of Marston Moor. Born in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign, the child of a cadet of the great house of the Cromwells of Hinchinbrook, and of kin through their mothers with Hampden and St. John, Oliver had been recalled by his

father's death from a short stay at Cambridge to the little family estate at Huntingdon, which he quitted for a farm at St. Ives. We have seen his mood during the years of personal rule, as he dwelt in "prolonging" and "blackness" amid fancies of coming death, the melancholy which formed the ground of his nature feeding itself on the inaction of the time. But his energy made itself felt the moment the tyranny was over. His father had sat, with three of his uncles, in the later parliaments of Elizabeth. Oliver had himself been returned to that of 1628, and the town of Cambridge sent him as its representative to the Short Parliament as to the Long. It is in the latter that a courtier, Sir Philip Warwick, gives us our first glimpse of his actual appearance. "I came into the house one morning, well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking whom I knew not, very ordinarily appareled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor. His linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar. His hat was without a hat-band. His stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swollen and reddish; his voice sharp and untunable; and his eloquence full of fervor."

1072. He was already "much hearkened unto," but his power was to assert itself in deeds rather than in words. He appeared at the head of a troop of his own raising at Edgehill; but with the eye of a born soldier he at once saw the blot in the army of

Essex. "A set of poor tapsters and town apprentices," he warned Hampden, "would never fight against men of honor;" and he pointed to religious enthusiasm as the one weapon which could meet and turn the chivalry of the cavalier. Even to Hampden the plan seemed impracticable; but the regiment of a thousand men which Cromwell raised for the association of the eastern counties, and which soon became known as his Ironsides, was formed strictly of "men of religion." He spent his fortune freely on the task he set himself. "The business . . . . . hath had of me in money between £1100 and £1200, therefore my private estate can do little to help the public. . . . . I have little money of my own (left) to help my soldiers." But they were "a lovely company," he tells his friends with soldierly pride. No blasphemy, drinking, disorder, or impiety were suffered in their ranks. "Not a man swears but he pays his twelve pence." Nor was his choice of "men and religion" the only innovation Cromwell introduced into his new regiment. The social traditions which restricted command to men of birth were disregarded. "It may be," he wrote, in answer to complaints from the committee of the association, "it provokes your spirit to see such plain men made captains of horse. It had been well that men of honor and birth had entered into their employments; but why do they not appear? But seeing it is necessary the work must go on, better plain men than none: but best to have men patient of wants, faithful and conscientious in their employment, and such, I hope, these will approve themselves." The words

paint Cromwell's temper accurately enough; he is far more of the practical soldier than of the reformer; though his genius already breaks in upon his aristocratic and conservative sympathies, and catches glimpses of the social revolution to which the war was drifting. "I had rather," he once burst out impatiently, "have a plain russet-coated captain, that knows what he fights for and loves what he knows, than what you call a gentleman, and is nothing else. I honor a gentleman that is so indeed!" he ends, with a return to his more common mood of feeling, but the outburst was none the less a characteristic one.

1073. The same practical temper broke out in a more startling innovation. Against dissidents from the legal worship of the church the Presbyterians were as bitter as Laud himself. But nonconformity was rising into proportions which made its claim of toleration, of the freedom of religious worship, one of the problems of the time. Its rise had been a sudden one. The sects who rejected in Elizabeth's day the conception of a national church, and insisted on the right of each congregation to freedom of worship, had all but disappeared at the close of the queen's reign. Some of the dissidents, as in the notable instance of the congregation that produced the pilgrim fathers, had found a refuge in Holland; but the bulk had been driven by persecution to a fresh conformity with the established church. As soon, however, as Abbott's primacy promised a milder rule, the separatist refugees began to venture timidly back again to England. During their exile in Holland the main body had contented themselves with the free develop-

ment of their system of independent congregations, each forming in itself a complete church, and to these the name of independents attached itself at a later time. A small part, however, had drifted into a more marked severance in doctrine from the established church, especially in their belief of the necessity of adult baptism, a belief from which their obscure congregation at Leyden became known as that of the Baptists. Both of these sects gathered a church in London in the middle of James's reign, but the persecuting zeal of Laud prevented any spread of their opinions under that of his successor; and it was not till their numbers were suddenly increased by the return of a host of emigrants from New England, with Hugh Peters at their head, on the opening of the Long Parliament, that the congregational or independent body began to attract attention.

1074. Lilburne and Burton declared themselves adherents of what was called "the New England way;" and a year later saw in London alone the rise of "fourscore congregations of several sectaries," as Bishop Hall scornfully tells us, "instructed by guides fit for them, cobblers, tailors, felt-makers, and such-like trash." But little religious weight, however, could be attributed as yet to the Congregational movement. Baxter, at this time, had not heard of the existence of any Independents. Milton, in his earlier pamphlets, shows no sign of their influence. Of the 105 ministers present in the Westminster assembly, only five were Congregational in sympathy, and these were all returned refugees from Holland. Among the 120 London ministers in 1643, but three were suspected

of leaning toward the sectaries. The struggle with Charles, in fact, at its outset only threw new difficulties in the way of religious freedom. The great majority of the parliament were averse from any alterations in the constitution or doctrine of the church itself; and it was only the refusal of the bishops to accept any diminution of their power and revenues, the growth of a party hostile to episcopalian government, the necessity for purchasing the aid of the Scots by a union in religion as in politics, and, above all, the urgent need of constructing some new ecclesiastical organization in the place of the older organization, which had become impossible from the political attitude of the bishops, that forced on the two houses the adoption of the covenant. But the change to a Presbyterian system of church government seemed at that time of little import to the bulk of Englishmen. The dogma of the necessity of bishops was held by few; and the change was generally regarded with approval as one which brought the church of England nearer to that of Scotland, and to the reformed churches of the continent. But whatever might be the change in its administration, no one imagined that it had ceased to be the church of England, or that it had parted with its right to exact conformity to its worship from the nation at large. The Tudor theory of its relation to the state, of its right to embrace all Englishmen within its pale, and to dictate what should be their faith and form of worship, remained utterly unquestioned by any man of note. The sentiments on which such a theory rested, indeed, for its main support, the power



of historical tradition, the association of "dissidence" with danger to the state, the strong English instinct of order, the as strong English dislike of "innovations," with the abhorrence of "indifferency" as a sign of lukewarmness in matters of religion, had only been intensified by the earlier incidents of the struggle with the king.

1075. The parliament, therefore, was steadily pressing on the new system of ecclesiastical government in the midst of the troubles of the war. An assembly of divines, which was called together in 1643 at Westminster, and which sat in the Jerusalem chamber during the five years which followed, was directed to revise the articles, to draw up a confession of faith, and a directory of public worship; and these, with a scheme of church government, a scheme only distinguished from that of Scotland by the significant addition of a lay court of superior appeal set by parliament over the whole system of church courts and assemblies, were accepted by the houses and embodied in a series of ordinances. But while the divines were drawing up their platform of uniform belief and worship, dissidence was growing fast into a religious power. In the terrible agony of the struggle against Charles, individual conviction became a stronger force than religious tradition. Theological speculation took an unprecedented boldness from the temper of the times. The shock of war had broken the bonds of custom, and given a violent impulse to the freest thought. "Behold now this vast city!" cried Milton from London, "a city of refuge, the mansion-house of liberty, encompassed

with God's protection! The shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers working to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice in defense of beleaguered truth than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present us, as with their homage and fealty, the approaching reformation; others as fast reading, trying all things, according to the force of reason and convincement." The poet himself had drifted from his Presbyterian standpoint, and saw that "new presbyter is but old priest writ large." The same change was going on widely about him. Four years after the war had begun, a horror-stricken pamphleteer numbered sixteen religious sects as existing in defiance of the law; and, widely as these bodies differed among themselves, all were at one in repudiating any right of control in faith or in worship on the part of the church or its clergy. Above all, the class which became specially infected with the spirit of religious freedom was the class to whose zeal and vigor the parliament was forced to look for success in the struggle. Cromwell had wisely sought for good fighting men among the "godly" farmers of the associated counties. But where he found such men he found dissidents, men who were resolved to seek God after their own fashion, and who were as hostile to the despotism of the national church as to the despotism of the king.

1076. The problem was a new and a difficult one; but Cromwell met it in the same practical temper which showed itself in his dealings with the social

difficulties that stood in the way of military organization. The sentiments of these farmers were not his own. Bitter as had been his hatred of the bishops, and strenuously as he had worked to bring about a change in church government, Cromwell, like most of the parliamentary leaders, seems to have been content with the new Presbyterianism, and the Presbyterians were more than content with him. Lord Manchester "suffered him to guide the army at his pleasure." "The man Cromwell," writes the Scotchman Baillie, "is a very wise and active head, universally well beloved as religious and stout." But they were startled and alarmed by his dealings with these dissident recruits. He met the problem in his unspeculative fashion. He wanted good soldiers and good men; and, if they were these, the Independent, the Baptist, the Leveler, found entry among his Ironsides. "You would respect them, did you see them," he answered the panic-stricken Presbyterians who charged them with "Anabaptistry" and revolutionary aims; "they are no Anabaptists: they are honest, sober Christians; they expect to be used as men." But he was busier with his new regiment than with theories of church and state; and the Ironsides were no sooner in action than they proved themselves such soldiers as the war had never seen yet. "Truly they were never beaten at all," their leader said proudly at its close. At Winceby fight they charged "singing psalms," cleared Lincolnshire of the Cavendishes, and freed the eastern counties from all danger from Newcastle's partisans. At Marston Moor they faced and routed Rupert's chiv-

alry. At Newbury it was only Manchester's reluctance that hindered them from completing the ruin of Charles.

1077. Cromwell had shown his capacity for organization in the creation of the Ironsides; his military genius had displayed itself at Marston Moor. Newbury raised him into a political leader. "Without a more speedy, vigorous, and effective prosecution of the war," he said to the commons after his quarrel with Manchester, "casting off all lingering proceedings, like those of soldiers of fortune beyond sea to spin out a war, we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a parliament." But under the leaders who at present conducted it, a vigorous conduct of the war was hopeless. They were, in Cromwell's plain words, "Afraid to conquer." They desired not to crush Charles, but to force him back, with as much of his old strength remaining as might be, to the position of a constitutional king. The old loyalty, too, clogged their enterprise; they shrank from the taint of treason. "If the king be beaten," Manchester urged at Newbury, "he will still be king; if he beat us he will hang us all for traitors." To a mood like this, Cromwell's reply seemed horrible; "If I met the king in battle I would fire my pistol at the king as at another." The army, too, as he long ago urged at Edgehill, was not an army to conquer with. Now, as then, he urged that till the whole force was new modeled, and placed under a stricter discipline, "they must not expect any notable success in anything they went about." But the first step in such a re-organization must be

a change of officers. The army was led and officered by members of the two houses, and the self-renouncing ordinance, which was introduced by Cromwell and Vane, declared the tenure of military or civil offices incompatible with a seat in either.

1078. The long and bitter resistance which this measure met in either house was justified at a later time by the political results that followed the rupture of the tie which had hitherto bound the army to the parliament. But the drift of public opinion was too strong to be withstood. The country was weary of the mismanagement of the war, and demanded that military necessities should be no longer set aside on political grounds. The ordinance passed the houses on the 3d of April, 1645, and its passage brought about the retirement of Essex, Manchester, and Waller. The new organization of the army went rapidly on through the spring under a new commander-in-chief, Sir Thomas Fairfax, the hero of the long contest in Yorkshire, and who had been raised into fame by his victory at Nantwich and his bravery at Marston Moor. But behind Fairfax stood Cromwell; and the principles on which Cromwell had formed his Ironsides were carried out on a larger scale in the "new model." The one aim was to get together 20,000 "honest" men. "Be careful," Cromwell wrote, "what captains of horse you choose, what men be mounted. A few honest men are better than numbers. If you choose godly, honest men to be captains of horse, honest men will follow them." The result was a curious medley of men of different ranks among the officers of the new

model. The bulk of those in high command remained men of noble or gentle blood, Montagues, Pickerings, Fortescues, Sheffields, Sidneys, and the like. But side by side with these, though in far smaller proportion, were seen officers like Ewer, who had been a serving-man; like Okey, who had been a drayman; or Rainsborough, who had been a "skipper at sea." A result hardly less notable was the youth of the officers. Among those in high command there were few who, like Cromwell, had passed middle age. Fairfax was but thirty-three years old, and most of his colonels were even younger.

1079. Equally strange was the mixture of religions in its ranks. The remonstrances of the Presbyterians had only forced Cromwell's mind forward on the road of toleration. "The state, in choosing men to serve it," he wrote, before Marston Moor, "takes no notice of these opinions. If they be willing faithfully to serve it, that satisfies." Marston Moor spurred him to press on the parliament the need of at least "tolerating" dissidents; and he succeeded in procuring the appointment of a committee of the commons to find some means of effecting this. But the conservative temper of the bulk of the Puritans was at last roused by his efforts. "We detest and abhor," wrote the London clergy in 1645, "the much endeavored toleration;" and the corporation of London petitioned parliament to suppress all sects "without toleration." The parliament itself, too, remained steady on the conservative side. But the fortunes of the war told for religious freedom. Es-

sex and his Presbyterians only marched from defeat to defeat. In remodeling the army it was necessary to insert a clause in the act which enabled Fairfax to dispense with the signature of the covenant in the case of "godly men;" for among the farmers from the eastern counties, who formed the bulk of its privates, dissidence of every type had gained a firm foothold.

1080. Of the political and religious aspect of the new model we shall have to speak at a later time; as yet, its energy was directed solely to "the speedy and vigorous prosecution of the war." At the very moment when Fairfax was ready for action, the policy of Cromwell was aided by the policy of the king. From the hour when Newbury marked the breach between the peace and war parties in the parliament, and when the last became identified with the partisans of religious liberty, the Scotch commissioners and the bulk of the commons had seen that their one chance of hindering what they looked on as revolution in church and state lay in pressing for fresh negotiations with Charles. These were opened at Uxbridge, and prolonged through the winter; but the hopes of concession which the king held out were suddenly withdrawn in the spring of 1645. He saw, as he thought, the parliamentary army dissolved and ruined by its new modeling at an instant when news came from Scotland of fresh successes on the part of Montrose, and of his overthrow of the troops under Argyle's command in a victory at Inverlochy. "Before the end of the summer," wrote the conquerer, "I shall be in a position to come to your

majesty's aid with a brave army." He pressed Charles to advance to the Scottish border, where a junction of their armies might still suffice to crush any force the parliament could bring against them. The party of war at once gained the ascendant in the royal councils. The negotiations at Uxbridge were broken off, and in May, Charles opened his campaign by a march to the north.

1081. At first, all went well for the king. Leicester was stormed, the blockade of Chester raised, and the eastern counties threatened, until Fairfax, who had hoped to draw Charles back again by a blockade of Oxford, was forced to hurry on his track. Cromwell, who had been suffered by the house to retain his command for a few days in spite of the ordinance, joined Fairfax as he drew near the king, and his arrival was greeted by loud shouts of welcome from the troops. On the 14th of June, 1645, the two armies met near Naseby, to the northwest of Northampton. The king was eager to fight. "Never have my affairs been in as good a state!" he cried; and Prince Rupert was as impatient as his uncle. On the other side, even Cromwell doubted as a soldier the success of his newly-drilled troops, though his religious enthusiasm swept away doubt in the assurance of victory. "I can say this of Naseby," he wrote soon after, "that when I saw the enemy draw up and march in gallant order toward us, and we, a company of poor, ignorant men, to seek to order our battle, the general having commanded me to order all the horse, I could not, riding alone about my business, but smile out to God in praises, in as-



surance of victory, because God would, by things that are not, bring to naught things that are; of which I had great assurance, and God did it." The battle began with a furious charge of Rupert uphill, which routed the wing opposed to him under Ireton; while the royalist foot, after a single discharge, clubbed their muskets and fell on the center under Fairfax so hotly that it slowly and stubbornly gave way. But the Ironsides were conquerors on the left. A single charge broke the northern horse under Langdale, who had already fled before them at Marston Moor; and, holding his troops firmly in hand, Cromwell fell with them on the flank of the royalist foot in the very crisis of its success. A panic of the king's reserve, and its flight from the field, aided his efforts. It was in vain that Rupert returned with forces exhausted by pursuit, that Charles, in a passion of despair, called on his troopers for "one charge more." The battle was over; artillery, baggage, even the royal papers fell into the conqueror's hands, 5000 men surrendered; and only 2000 followed the king in his headlong flight from the field.

1082. The war was ended at a blow. While Charles wandered helplessly along the Welsh border in search of fresh forces, Fairfax marched rapidly on the southwest, where an organized royal force alone existed; routed Goring's force at Langport, in Somersetshire; broke up the royalist army; and in three weeks was master to the Land's End. A victory at Kilsyth, which gave Scotland for the moment to Montrose, threw a transient gleam over the darken-

ing fortunes of his master's cause; but the surrender of Bristol to the parliamentary army, and the dispersion of the last force Charles could gather from Wales in an attempt to relieve Chester, was followed in September by news of the crushing and irretrievable defeat of the "Great Marquis" at Philiphaugh. In the wreck of the royal cause we may pause for a moment over an incident which brings out in relief the best temper of both sides. Cromwell, who was sweeping over the southern counties to trample out the last trace of resistance, "spent much time with God in prayer before the storm" of Basing House, where the Marquis of Winchester had held stoutly out through the war for the king. The storm ended its resistance, and the brave old royalist was brought in a prisoner, with his house flaming around him. He "broke out," reports a Puritan bystander, "and said 'that if the king had no more ground in England but Basing House, he would adventure it as he did, and so maintain it to the uttermost,' comforting himself in this matter 'that Basing House was called loyalty.'" Of loyalty such as this Charles was utterly unworthy. The seizure of his papers at Naseby had hardly disclosed his earlier intrigues with the Irish Catholics when the parliament was able to reveal to England a fresh treaty with them, which purchased no longer their neutrality, but their aid, by the simple concession of every demand they had made. The shame was without profit, for whatever aid Ireland might have given came too late to be of service. The spring of 1646 saw the few troops who still clung to Charles sur-

rounded and routed at Stow. "You have done your work now," their leader, Sir Jacob Astley, said bitterly to his conquerors, "and may go to play, unless you fall out among yourselves."

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## CHAPTER X.

### THE ARMY AND THE PARLIAMENT.

1646—1649.

1083. WITH the close of the civil war we enter on a time of confused struggles, a time tedious and uninteresting in its outer details, but of higher interest than even the war itself in its bearing on our after history. Modern England, the England among whose thoughts and sentiments we actually live, began, however dimly and darkly, with the triumph of Naseby. Old things passed silently away. When Astley gave up his sword the "work" of the generations which had struggled for Protestantism against Catholicism, for public liberty against absolute rule, in his own emphatic phrase, was "done." So far as these contests were concerned, however, the later Stuarts might strive to revive them, England could safely "go to play." English religion was never to be more in danger. English liberty was never to be really in peril from the efforts of kings after a personal rule. Whatever reaction might come about, it would never bring into question the great constitutional results that the Long Parliament had wrought. But with the end of this older work a new work

began. The constitutional and ecclesiastical problems which still in one shape or another beset us started to the front as subjects of national debate in the years between the close of the civil war and the death of the king. The great parties which have ever since divided the social, the political, and the religious life of England, whether as Independents and Presbyterians, as whigs and tories, as conservatives and liberals, sprang into organized existence in the contest between the army and the parliament. Then for the first time began a struggle which is far from having ended yet, the struggle between political tradition and political progress, between the principle of religious conformity and the principle of religious freedom.

1084. It was the religious struggle which drew the political in its train. The victory of Naseby raised a wider question than that of mere toleration. "Honest men served you faithfully in this action," Cromwell wrote to the speaker of the house of commons from the field. "Sir, they are trusty; I beseech you, in the name of God, not to discourage them. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience." The storm of Bristol encouraged him to proclaim the new principle yet more distinctly. "Presbyterians, Independents, all here have the same spirit of faith and prayer, the same presence and answer. They agree here, have no names of difference; pity it is it should be otherwise anywhere. All that believe have the real unity, which is the most glorious, being the inward and

spiritual, in the body and in the head. For being united in forms (commonly called uniformity), every Christian will for peace sake study and do as far as conscience will permit. And from brethren in things of the mind we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason." The increasing firmness of Cromwell's language was due to the growing irritation of his opponents. The two parties became every day more clearly defined. The Presbyterian ministers complained bitterly of the increase of the sectaries, and denounced the toleration which had come into practical existence without sanction from the law. Scotland, whose army was still before Newark, pressed for the execution of the covenant and the universal enforcement of a religious uniformity. Sir Harry Vane, on the other hand, who now headed the party which advocated religious freedom in the commons, strove to bring the parliament round to less rigid courses by the introduction of 230 new members, who filled the seats left vacant by the withdrawal of royalist members, and the more eminent of whom, such as Ireton and Algernon Sidney, were inclined to support the Independents. But the majority in both houses still clung to the Tudor tradition of religious uniformity; and it was only the pressure of the new model, and the remonstrance of Cromwell as its mouth-piece, that hindered any effective movement toward persecution.

1085. Amid the wreck of his fortunes, Charles seized on the growing discord among his opponents as a means of retrieving all. He trusted that the dread of revolution would at last rally the whole

body of conservative Englishmen round the royal standard, and it is likely enough that had he frankly flung himself on the side of the parliament at this juncture he might have regained much of his older power. But, beaten and hunted as he was from place to place, he was determined to regain not much but all. The terms which the houses offered were still severe; and Charles believed that a little king-craft would free him from the need of accepting any terms whatever. He intrigued, therefore, busily with both parties, and promised liberty of worship to Vane and the Independents at the moment when he was negotiating with the parliament and with the Scots. His negotiations were quickened by the march of Fairfax upon Oxford. Driven from his last refuge, at the close of April, 1646, the king had to choose between a flight from the realm or a surrender to one of the armies about him. Charles had no mind to forsake England when all seemed working for his success; and after some aimless wanderings he made his appearance in May in the camp of the Scots. The choice was dexterous enough. The parliament and the army were still left face to face. On the other hand, the Scots were indignant at what they regarded as a breach of faith in the toleration which existed in England, and Charles believed that his presence would at once rekindle their loyalty to a king of Scottish blood. But the results of his surrender were other than he had hoped. To the world at large his action seemed simply the prelude to an accommodation with his opponents on the ground of religious uniformity. This new aspect of

affairs threatened the party of religious freedom with ruin. Hated as they were by the Scots, by the lords, by the city of London, the apparent junction of Charles with their enemies destroyed their growing hopes in the commons, where the prospects of a speedy peace on Presbyterian terms at once swelled the majority of their opponents. The two houses laid their conditions of peace before the king without a dream of resistance from one who seemed to have placed himself at their mercy. They required for the parliament the command of the army and fleet for twenty years; the exclusion of all "malig-nants," or royalists who had taken part in the war, from civil and military office; the abolition of episcopacy, and the establishment of a Presbyterian church. Of toleration or liberty of conscience they said not a word.

1086. The Scots, whose army had fallen back with its royal prize to Newcastle, pressed these terms on the king "with tears." His friends, and even the queen, urged their acceptance. But the aim of Charles was simply delay. His surrender had not brought about the results he had hoped for, but he believed that time and the dissensions of his enemies were fighting for him. "I am not without hope," he wrote, coolly, "that I shall be able to draw either the Presbyterians or the Independents to side with me for extirpating one another, so that I shall be really king again." With this end he refused the terms offered by the houses. His refusal was a crushing defeat for the Presbyterians. "What will become of us," asked one of them, "now that the

king has rejected our proposals?" "What would have become of us," retorted an independent, "had he accepted them?" The vigor of Holles and the conservative leaders in the parliament rallied, however, to a bolder effort. It was plain that the king's game lay in balancing the army against the parliament, and that the houses could hope for no submission to these terms so long as the new model was on foot. Nor could they venture in its presence to enforce religious uniformity, or to deal as they would have wished to deal with the theories of religious freedom which were every day becoming more popular. But while the Scotch army lay at Newcastle, and while it held the king in its hands, they could not insist on dismissing their own soldiers. It was only a withdrawal of the Scots from England and their transfer of the king's person into the hands of the houses that would enable them to free themselves from the pressure of their own soldiers by disbanding the new model.

1087. In his endeavor to bring these two measures about, Holles met with an unexpected success. Hopeless of success in the projects of accommodation which they laid before the king, and unable to bring him into Scotland in face of the refusal of the general assembly to receive a sovereign who would not swear to the covenant, the Scottish army, in January, 1647, accepted £400,000 in discharge of its claims, handed Charles over to a committee of the houses, and marched back over the border. The success of their diplomacy restored the confidence of the houses. The Presbyterian leaders looked on



themselves as masters of the king, and they resolved to assert their mastery over the new model and the sectaries. They voted that the army should be disbanded, and that a new army should be raised for the suppression of the Irish rebellion, with Presbyterian officers at its head. It was in vain that the men protested against being severed from "officers that we love," and that the council of officers strove to gain time by pressing on the parliament the danger of mutiny. Holles and his fellow-leaders were resolute, and their ecclesiastical legislation showed the end at which their resolution aimed. Direct enforcement of conformity was impossible till the new model was disbanded; but the parliament pressed on in the work of providing the machinery for enforcing it as soon as the army was gone. Vote after vote ordered the setting up of presbyteries throughout the country, and the first fruits of these efforts were seen in the Presbyterian organization of London, and in the first meeting of its synod at St. Paul's. Even the officers on Fairfax's staff were ordered to take the covenant.

1088. All hung, however, on the disbanding of the new model, and the new model showed no will to disband itself. Its attitude can only fairly be judged by remembering what the conquerors of Naseby really were. They were soldiers of a different class and of a different temper from the soldiers of any other army that the world has seen. Their ranks were filled for the most part with young farmers and tradesmen of the lower sort, maintaining themselves, for their pay was twelve months in arrear, mainly at

their own cost. They had been specially picked as "honest," or religious men, and whatever enthusiasm or fanaticism they may have shown, their very enemies acknowledged the order and piety of their camp. They looked on themselves, not as swordsmen, to be caught up and flung away at the will of a paymaster, but as men who had left farm and merchandise at a direct call from God. A great work had been given them to do, and the call bound them till it was done. Kingcraft, as Charles was hoping, might yet restore tyranny to the throne. A more immediate danger threatened that liberty of conscience which was to them "the ground of the quarrel, and for which so many of their friends' lives had been lost, and so much of their own blood had been spilt." They would wait before disbanding till these liberties were secured, and if need came they would again act to secure them. But their resolve sprang from no pride in the brute force of the sword they wielded. On the contrary, as they pleaded passionately at the bar of the commons, "on becoming soldiers we have not ceased to be citizens." Their aims and proposals throughout were purely those of citizens, and of citizens who were ready the moment their aim was won to return peacefully to their homes. Thought and discussion had turned the army into a vast parliament, a parliament which regarded itself as a representative of "godly" men in as high a degree as the parliament at Westminster, and which must have become every day more conscious of its superiority in political capacity to its rival. Ireton, the moving spirit of the new model,

had no equal as a statesman in St. Stephen's; nor is it possible to compare the large and far-sighted proposals of the army with the blind and narrow policy of the two houses. Whatever we may think of the means by which the new model sought its aims, we must in justice remember that so far as those aims went, the new model was in the right. For the last 200 years England has been doing little more than carrying out in a slow and tentative way the scheme of political and religious reform which the army propounded at the close of the civil war.

1089. It was not till the rejection of the officers' proposals had left little hope of conciliation that the army acted, but its action was quick and decisive. It set aside for all political purposes the council of officers, by which its action had hitherto been directed, and elected a new council of adjutators or assistants, two members being named by each regiment, which summoned a general meeting of the army at Triploe heath, where the proposals of pay and disbanding made by the parliament were rejected with cries of "justice." While the army was gathering, in fact, the adjutators had taken a step which put submission out of the question. A rumor that the king was to be removed to London, a new army raised by the parliament in his name, and a new civil war begun, roused the soldiers to madness. Five hundred troopers appeared on the 4th of June before Holmby House, where the king was residing in charge of parliamentary commissioners, and displaced its guards. "Where is your commission for this act?" Charles asked the cornet who

commanded them. "It is behind me," said Joyce, pointing to his soldiers. "It is written in very fine and legible characters," laughed the king. The seizure had, in fact, been previously concerted between Charles and the adjutators. "I will part willingly," he told Joyce, "if the soldiers confirm all that you have promised me. You will exact from me nothing that offends my conscience or my honor." "It is not our maxim," replied the cornet, "to constrain the conscience of any one, still less that of our king." After a first burst of terror at the news, the parliament fell furiously on Cromwell, who had relinquished his command and quitted the army before the close of the war, and had ever since been employed as a mediator between the two parties. The charge of having incited the mutiny fell before his vehement protest, but he was driven to seek refuge with the army, and on the 25th of June it was in full march upon London. Its demands were expressed with perfect clearness in an "humble representation" which it addressed to the houses. "We desire a settlement of the peace of the kingdom and of the liberties of the subject according to the votes and declarations of parliament. We desire no alteration in the civil government; as little do we desire to interrupt or in the least to intermeddle with the settling of the Presbyterial government." What they demanded in religious matters was toleration; but "not to open a way to licentious living under pretense of obtaining ease for tender consciences, we profess as ever, in these things when the state has made a settlement we have nothing to say, but to

submit or suffer." It was with a view to such a settlement that they demanded the expulsion of eleven members from the commons, with Holles at their head, whom the soldiers charged with stirring up strife between the army and the parliament, and with a design of renewing the civil war. After fruitless negotiations the new model drew close upon London; the terror of the Londoners forced the eleven to withdraw, and the houses named commissioners to treat on the questions at issue.

1090. Though Fairfax and Cromwell had been forced from their position as mediators into a hearty co-operation with the army, its political direction rested at this moment with Cromwell's son-in-law, Henry Ireton, and Ireton looked for a real settlement, not to the parliament, but to the king. "There must be some difference," he urged, bluntly, "between conquerors and conquered;" but the terms which he laid before Charles were terms of studied moderation. The vindictive spirit which the parliament had shown against the royalists and the church disappeared in the terms exacted by the new model; and the army contented itself with the banishment of seven leading "delinquents," a general act of oblivion for the rest, the withdrawal of all coercive power from the clergy, the control of parliament over the military and naval forces for ten years, and its nomination of the great officers of state. Behind these demands, however, came a masterly and comprehensive plan of political reform which had already been sketched by the army in the "humble representation" with which it had begun its march on

London. Belief and worship were to be free to all. Acts enforcing the use of the prayer-book, or attendance at church, or the enforcement of the covenant, were to be repealed. Even Catholics, whatever other restraints might be imposed, were to be freed from the bondage of compulsory worship. Parliaments were to be triennial, and the house of commons to be reformed by a fairer distribution of seats and of electoral rights; taxation was to be re-adjusted; legal procedure simplified; a crowd of political, commercial, and judicial privileges abolished. Ireton believed that Charles could be "so managed" (says Mrs. Hutchison) "as to comply with the public good of his people after he could no longer uphold his violent will." But Charles was equally dead to the moderation and to the wisdom of this great act of settlement. He saw in the crisis nothing but an opportunity of balancing one party against another; and believed that the army had more need of his aid than he of the army's. "You cannot do without me; you are lost if I do not support you," he said to Ireton as he pressed his proposals. "You have an intention to be the arbitrator between us and the parliament," Ireton quietly replied, "and we mean to be so between the parliament and your majesty."

1091. But the king's tone was soon explained. If London had been panic-stricken at the approach of the army, its panic soon disappeared. The great city was goaded to action by the humiliation of the parliament, and still more by the triumph of religious liberty which seemed to be approaching

through the negotiations of the army with the king. A mob of Londoners broke into the house of commons, and forced its members to recall the eleven. The bulk of Vane's party, some fourteen peers and a hundred commoners, fled to the army; while those who remained at Westminster prepared for an open struggle with it, and invited Charles to return to London. But the news no sooner reached the camp than the army was again on the march. "In two days," Cromwell said, coolly, "the city will be in our hands." On the 6th of August the soldiers entered London in triumph and restored the fugitive members; the eleven were once more expelled; and the army leaders resumed their negotiations with the king. The indignation of the soldiers at his delays and intrigues made their task hourly more difficult; but Cromwell, who now threw his whole weight on Ireton's side, clung to the hope of accommodation with a passionate tenacity. His mind, conservative by tradition, and, above all, practical in temper, saw the political difficulties which would follow on the abolition of monarchy, and, in spite of the king's evasions, he persisted in negotiating with him. But Cromwell stood almost alone. The parliament refused to accept Ireton's proposals as a basis of peace; Charles still evaded; and the army grew restless and suspicious. There were cries for a wide reform, for the abolition of the house of peers, for a new house of commons, and the adjutators called on the council of officers to discuss the question of abolishing royalty itself. Cromwell was never braver than when he faced the gathering

storm, forbade the discussion, adjourned the council, and sent the officers to their regiments. But the strain was too great to last long, and Charles was still resolute to "play his game." He was, in fact, so far from being in earnest in his negotiations with Cromwell and Ireton that at the moment they were risking their lives for him he was conducting another and equally delusive negotiation with the parliament, fomenting the discontent in London, and preparing for a fresh royalist rising. What he still more counted on was aid from the north. The intervention of the Scots had ruined his cause, but their intervention might again restore it. The practical suspension of the covenant and the triumph of the party of religious liberty in England had produced a violent reaction across the Tweed. Argyle and the zealous Presbyterians still clung to the alliance between the two countries, though it disappointed their hopes; but Hamilton, who had now become a duke, put himself at the head of the more moderate religionists, and carried the elections for a new parliament. Charles at once saw the results of the duke's success. "The two nations," he wrote, joyously, "will soon be at war." All that was needed for the success of these schemes was his own liberty; and in November, 1647, in the midst of their hopes of an accommodation, the army leaders learned that they had been duped throughout, and that the king had fled.

1092. The flight fanned the excitement of the new model into frenzy, and only the courage of Cromwell averted an open mutiny in its gathering at



Ware. But even Cromwell was powerless to break the spirit which now pervaded the soldiers, and the king's perfidy left him without resources. "The king is a man of great parts and great understanding," he said, "but so great a dissembler and so false a man that he is not to be trusted." The danger from his escape, indeed, soon passed away. By a strange error Charles had ridden from Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight, perhaps with some hope from the sympathy of Colonel Hammond, the governor of Carisbrook Castle, and again found himself a prisoner. But the wider perils remained. Foiled in his effort to put himself at the head of the new civil war, the king set himself to organize it from his prison; and while again opening delusive negotiations with the two houses, he signed a secret treaty with the Scots for the invasion of the realm. All that Hamilton needed to bring the new Scotch parliament to an active support of the king was his assent to a stipulation for the re-establishment of presbytery in England. This Charles at last brought himself to give in the spring of 1648, and the Scots at once ordered an army to be levied for his support. In England the whole of the conservative party, with many of the most conspicuous members of the Long Parliament at its head, was drifting in its horror of the religious and political changes which seemed impending toward the king; and at the close of May, the news from Scotland gave the signal for fitful insurrections in almost every quarter. London was only held down by main force; old officers of the parliament unfurled the royal flag in South

Wales, and surprised Pembroke. The seizure of Berwick and Carlisle opened a way for the Scotch invasion. Kent, Essex, and Hertford broke out in revolt. The fleet in the Downs sent their captains on shore, hoisted the king's pennon, and blockaded the Thames.

1093. "The hour is come," cried Cromwell, "for the parliament to save the kingdom and to govern alone." But the parliament showed no will to "govern alone." It looked on the rising and the intervention of the Scots as means of freeing it from the control under which it had been writhing since the expulsion of the eleven. It took advantage of the crisis to profess its adherence to monarchy, to reopen the negotiations it had broken off with the king, and to deal the fiercest blow at religious freedom which it had ever received. The Presbyterians flocked back to their seats; and an "Ordinance for the Suppression of Blasphemies and Heresies," which Vane and Cromwell had long held at bay, was passed by triumphant majorities. Any man—ran this terrible statute—denying the doctrine of the Trinity or of the Divinity of Christ, or that the books of Scripture are "the word of God," or the resurrection of the body, or a future day of judgment, and refusing on trial to abjure his heresy, "shall suffer the pain of death." Any man declaring (amid a long list of other errors) "that man by nature hath free will to turn to God," that there is a purgatory, that images are lawful, that infant baptism is unlawful; any one denying the obligation of observing the Lord's day, or asserting "that the

church government by presbytery is anti-Christian or unlawful," shall, on a refusal to renounce his errors, "be commanded to prison." It was plain that the Presbyterians counted on the king's success to resume their policy of conformity, and had Charles been free, or the new model disbanded, their hopes would probably have been realized.

1094. But Charles was still safe at Carisbrook ; and the new model was facing fiercely the danger which surrounded it. The wanton renewal of the war at a moment when all tended to peace swept from the mind of Fairfax and Cromwell, as from that of the army at large, every thought of reconciliation with the king. Soldiers and generals were at last bound together again in a stern resolve. On the eve of their march against the revolt, all gathered in a solemn prayer-meeting, and came "to a very clear and joint resolution, 'That it was our duty, if ever the Lord brought us back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to account for the blood he has shed and mischief he has done to his utmost against the Lord's cause and people in this poor nation.' " The stern resolve was followed by vigorous action. In a few days Fairfax had trampled down the Kentish insurgents, and had prisoned those of the Eastern counties within the walls of Colchester, while Cromwell drove the Welsh insurgents within those of Pembroke. Both towns, however, held stubbornly out ; and though a rising under Lord Holland in the neighborhood of London was easily put down, there was no force left to stem the inroad of the Scots, who poured over the border at the

opening of July some 20,000 strong. Luckily the surrender of Pembroke at this critical moment set Cromwell free. Pushing rapidly northward with 5000 men, he called in a force under Lambert, which had been gallantly hanging on the Scottish flank, and pushed over the Yorkshire hills into the valley of the Ribble, where the Duke of Hamilton, reinforced by 3000 royalists of the north, had advanced as far as Preston. With an army which now numbered 10000 men, Cromwell poured down on the flank of the duke's straggling line of march, attacked the Scots on the 17th of August as they retired behind the Ribble, passed the river with them, cut their rearguard to pieces at Wigan, forced the defile at Warrington, where the flying enemy made a last and desperate stand, and drove their foot to surrender, while Lambert hunted down Hamilton and the horse. Fresh from its victory, the new model pushed over the border, while the peasants of Ayrshire and the west rose in a "whiggamore raid" (notable as the first event in which we find the name "whig," which is possibly the same as our "whey," and conveys a taunt against the "sour-milk" faces of the fanatical Ayrshiremen), and, marching upon Edinburgh in September, dispersed the royalist party and again installed Argyle in power.

1095. Argyle welcomed Cromwell as a deliverer, but the victorious general had hardly entered Edinburgh, when he was recalled by pressing news from the south. The temper with which the parliament had met the royalist revolt was, as we have seen, widely different from that of the army. It had re-

called the eleven members, and had passed the ordinance against heresy. At the moment of the victory at Preston, the lords were discussing charges of treason against Cromwell, while in September commissioners were again sent to the Isle of Wight, in spite of the resistance of the Independents, to conclude peace with the king. Royalists and Presbyterians alike pressed Charles to grasp the easy terms which were now offered him. But if his hopes from Scotland had utterly broken down, they had given place to hopes of a new war with the aid of an army from Ireland; and the negotiators of the houses saw forty days wasted in useless chicanery. "Nothing," Charles wrote to his friends, "is changed in my designs." With Ireland and Scotland on his side, with royalists still in arms in the eastern counties, with the houses at issue with the army, and as it seemed on the point of yielding unconditionally to the king in their dread of organic changes, he believed that the hour of his triumph was at last at hand. But the surrender of Colchester to Fairfax in August and Cromwell's convention with Argyle had now set free the army, and it at once struck fiercely at its foes. Petitions from its regiments demanded "justice on the king." A fresh "remonstrance" from the council of officers called for the election of a new parliament; for electoral reform; for the recognition of the supremacy of the houses "in all things;" for the change of kingship, should it be retained, into a magistracy elected by the parliament, and without veto on its proceedings. Above all they demanded "that the capital and grand author

of our troubles, by whose commissions, commands, and procurements, and in whose behalf and for whose interest only, of will and power, all our wars and troubles have been, with all the miseries attending them, may be specially brought to justice for the treason, blood, and mischief he is therein guilty of."

1096. The demand drove the houses to despair. That the king should be forced back into legal courses, and if need be forced by stress of arms, seemed to the bulk of the English gentry who were ranged on the parliament side a necessity, though a hard necessity. But the tradition of loyalty, of reverence for the crown, was strong even in the men who had fought hardest against Charles. They shrank with horror from the sight of a king at the bar of a court of justice, or yet more on the scaffold. The demand for a new parliament was hardly less horrible. A new parliament meant the rule of the sectaries, a revolution in the whole political and religious system of the realm. To give way to Charles altogether, to surrender all that the war had gained, seemed better than this. Their reply to the remonstrance was to accept the king's concessions, unimportant as they were, as a basis of peace. The calculations of Charles were verified by the surrender of his old opponents; but the surrender came too late to save either parliament or king. The step was accepted by the soldiers as a defiance. On the 30th of November Charles was again seized by a troop of horse, and carried off to Hurst Castle, while a letter from Fairfax announced the march of his army upon London. "We shall know now," said Vane, as the troops took their post

round the houses of parliament, "who is on the side of the king, and who on the side of the people." But the terror of the army proved weaker among the members than the agonized loyalty which strove to save the monarchy and the church; and a large majority in both houses still voted for the acceptance of the terms which Charles had offered. The next morning, that of the 6th of December, saw Colonel Pride at the door of the house of commons with a list of forty members of the majority in his hands. The council of officers had resolved to exclude them, and as each member made his appearance he was arrested and put in confinement. "By what right do you act?" a member asked. "By the right of the sword," Hugh Peters is said to have replied. The house was still resolute, but on the following morning forty more members were excluded, and the rest gave way.

1097. The sword had fallen; and the old system of English government sank helplessly beneath the blow. The two great powers which had waged this bitter conflict, the parliament and the monarchy, suddenly disappeared. The expulsion of 140 members—in a word, of the majority of the existing house—reduced the commons to a name. The remnant who remained to co-operate with the army were, in the coarse imagery of popular speech, but the "rump" of a parliament. Their will was no longer representative of the will of the country; their acts were no longer national acts. They were simply the acts of a body of partisans who had the luck to find themselves on the side of the sword. While the house of

commons dwindled to a sham, the house of lords passed away altogether. The effect of Pride's purge was seen in a resolution of the Rump for the trial of Charles and the nomination on the 1st of January, 1649, of a court of 150 commissioners to conduct it, with John Bradshaw, a lawyer of eminence, at their head. The rejection of this ordinance by the few peers who remained brought about a fresh resolution from the members who remained in the lower house, "that the people are, under God, the original of all just power; that the commons of England in parliament assembled—being chosen by, and representing, the people—have the supreme power in this nation; and that whatsoever is enacted and declared for law by the commons in parliament assembled hath the force of a law, and all the people of this nation are concluded thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the king or house of peers be not had hereunto."

1098. And with the ruin of the parliament went the ruin of the monarchy. On the 20th of January Charles appeared before Bradshaw's court, only to deny its competence and to refuse to plead; but thirty-two witnesses were examined to satisfy the consciences of his judges, and it was not till the fifth day of the trial that he was condemned to death as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and enemy of his country. The popular excitement vented itself in cries of "justice," or, "God save your majesty," as the trial went on, but all save the loud outcries of the soldiers was hushed as, on the 30th of January, 1649, Charles passed to his doom. The dignity which he had failed



to preserve in his long jangling with Bradshaw and the judges returned at the call of death. Whatever had been the faults and follies of his life, "he nothing common did nor mean, upon that memorable scene." Two masked executioners awaited the king as he mounted the scaffold, which had been erected outside one of the windows of the Banqueting House at Whitehall; the streets and roofs were thronged with spectators; and a strong body of soldiers stood drawn up beneath. His head fell at the first blow, and as the executioner lifted it to the sight of all a groan of pity and horror burst from the silent crowd.

1099. The delays and hesitation which marked the action of the commons on the king's death showed how stunned they were by the revolution which they were driven to bring about. To replace Charles by a new king was impossible. His son alone would be owned as sovereign by the bulk of the nation; and no friendship was possible between the men who now held England in their grasp and the son of the man they had sent to the block. But it was only slowly that they bowed to necessity, It was not till the 17th of March that monarchy was formally abolished; and two months more elapsed before the passing of that memorable act of the 19th of May which declared "that the people of England and of all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging are, and shall be, and are hereby constituted, made, established, and confirmed, to be a commonwealth and free state, and shall henceforth be governed as a commonwealth and free state by the supreme autho-

city of this nation, the representatives of the people in parliament, and by such as they shall appoint and constitute officers and ministers for the good of the people, and that without any king or house of lords."

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## CHAPTER XI

### THE COMMONWEALTH

1649—1653.

1100. THE news of the king's death was received throughout Europe with a thrill of horror. The Czar of Russia chased the English envoy from his court. The ambassador of France was withdrawn on the proclamation of the republic. The Protestant powers of the continent seemed more anxious than any to disavow all connection with a Protestant people who had brought their king to the block. Holland took the lead in acts of open hostility to the new power as soon as the news of the execution reached the Hague. The states-general waited solemnly on the Prince of Wales, who took the title of Charles the Second, and recognized him as "majesty," while they refused an audience to the English envoys. Their stadtholder, his brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange, was supported by popular sympathy in the aid and encouragement he afforded to Charles; and eleven ships of the English fleet, which had found a refuge at the Hague ever since their revolt from the parliament, were suffered to sail under Rupert's command, and to render the seas un-

safe for English traders. The danger, however, was far greater nearer home. In Scotland even the zealous Presbyterians, whom Cromwell had restored to power, refused to follow England on its rejection of monarchy. Argyle and his fellow-leaders proclaimed Charles the Second as king on the news of his father's death; and at once dispatched an embassy to the Hague to invite him to ascend the throne. In Ireland the factions who, ever since the rebellion, had turned the country into a chaos, the old Irish Catholics or native party, under Owen Roe O'Neil; the Catholics of the English Pale, the Episcopalian royalists, the Presbyterian royalists of the north, had at last been brought to some sort of union by the diplomacy of Ormond; and Ormond called on Charles to land at once in a country where he would find three fourths of its people devoted to his cause.

1101. Of the dangers which threatened the new commonwealth, some were more apparent than real. The rivalry of France and Spain, both anxious for its friendship, secured it from the hostility of the greater powers of the continent; and the ill-will of Holland could be delayed, if not averted, by negotiations. The acceptance of the covenant was insisted on by Scotland before it would formally receive Charles as its ruler, and nothing but necessity would induce him to comply with such a demand. On the side of Ireland, the danger was more pressing, and an army of 12,000 men was set apart for a vigorous prosecution of the Irish war. But the real difficulties were the difficulties at home. The

death of Charles gave fresh vigor to the royalist cause; and the loyalty which it revived was stirred to enthusiasm by the publication of the "Eikon Basilike," a work really due to the ingenuity of Dr. Gauden, a Presbyterian minister, but which was believed to have been composed by the king himself in his later hours of captivity, and which reflected with admirable skill the hopes, the suffering, and the piety of the royal "martyr." For a moment, there were dreams of a rising, which had to be roughly checked by the execution of the Duke of Hamilton and Lords Holland and Capell, who had till now been confined in the Tower. But the popular disaffection was a far more serious matter than these royalist intrigues. It was soon plain that the revolution which had struck down parliament and monarchy alike was without sanction from the nation at large. The government of the country had been provided for by the creation of a council of state, consisting of forty-one members selected from what was left of the commons, and who were intrusted with full executive power at home and abroad. But if the Rump consented to profit by the work of the soldiers, it showed no will to signify its approval of it. A majority of the members of the council declined the oath offered to them at their earliest meeting, pledging them to an approval of the king's death and the establishment of the commonwealth. In the nation at large the repudiation of the army's work was universal. Half the judges retired from the bench. Thousands of refusals met the demand of an engagement to be faithful to the republic, which was made from all

beneficed clergymen and public functionaries. It was not till May, and even then in spite of the ill-will of the citizens, that the council ventured to proclaim the commonwealth in London.

1102. It was plain that England had no mind to see her old parliamentary liberties set aside for a military rule. But, in truth, the army itself never dreamed of establishing such a rule. Still less did it dream of leaving the conduct of affairs in the hands of the small body of members who still called themselves the house of commons, a body which numbered hardly a hundred, and whose average attendance was little more than fifty. In reducing it by "Pride's purge" to the mere shadow of a house, the army had never contemplated its continuance as a permanent assembly; it had, in fact, insisted as a condition of even its temporary continuance that it should prepare a bill for the summoning of a fresh parliament. The plan put forward by the council of officers is still interesting as the basis of many later efforts toward parliamentary reform. It advised a dissolution in the spring, the assembling every two years of a new parliament, consisting of 400 members, elected by all householders ratable to the poor, and a redistribution of seats which would have given the privilege of representation to every place of importance. Paid military officers and civil officials were excluded from election. The plan was apparently accepted by the commons, and a bill based on it was again and again discussed. But it was soon whispered about that the house had no mind to dissolve itself. Whatever might be the hopes

of the soldiers or their leaders, the shrewder statesmen who sat at Westminster knew that the country was eager to undo the work that had been done; and that the first effort of a fairly chosen parliament would be to put an end to the commonwealth and to religious liberty. Their aim, therefore, was to gain time; to continue their rule till what they looked on as a passing phase of national feeling had disappeared, and till the great results which they looked for from their policy, both at home and abroad, had reconciled the nation to the new system of government. In a witty paraphrase of the story of Moses, Henry Martyn was soon to picture the commonwealth as a new-born and delicate babe, and hint that "no one is so proper to bring it up as the mother who has brought it into the world." Secret as this purpose was kept, suspicions of it no sooner stole abroad than the popular discontent found a mouth-piece in John Lilburne, a brave, hot-headed soldier, and the excitement of the army appeared in a formidable mutiny in May. But the leaders of the army set all suspicion aside. "You must cut these people in pieces," Cromwell broke out in the council of state, "or they will cut you in pieces;" and a forced march of fifty miles to Burford enabled him to burst with Fairfax on the mutinous regiments at midnight, and to stamp out the revolt.

1103. But resolute as he was against disorder, Cromwell went honestly with the army in its demand of a new parliament; he believed, and in his harangue to the mutineers he pledged himself to the assertion, that the house purposed to dissolve itself. In spite

of the delays thrown in the way of the bill for a new representative body, Cromwell entertained no serious suspicion of the parliament's design when he was summoned to Ireland by a series of royalist successes which left only Dublin in the hands of the parliamentary forces. With Scotland threatening war, and a naval struggle impending with Holland, it was necessary that the work of the army in Ireland should be done quickly. The temper, too, of Cromwell and his soldiers was one of vengeance, for the horror of the Irish massacre remained living in every English breast, and the revolt was looked upon as a continuance of the massacre. "We are come," he said on his landing, "to ask an account of the innocent blood that hath been shed, and to endeavor to bring to an account all who by appearing in arms shall justify the same." A sortie from Dublin had already broken up Ormond's siege of the capital; and feeling himself powerless to keep the field before the new army, the marquis had thrown his best troops, three thousand Englishmen, under Sir Arthur Aston, as a garrison into Drogheda. Cromwell landed in Ireland on the 15th of August, 1649; and his storm of Drogheda, in September, was the first of a series of awful massacres. The garrison fought bravely, and repulsed the first attack; but a second drove Aston and his force back to the Mill-Mount. "Our men getting up to them," ran Cromwell's terrible dispatch, "were ordered by me to put them all to the sword. And, indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town, and I think that night they put to death about two thou-

sand men." A few fled to St. Peter's church, "whereupon I ordered the steeple to be fired, where one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames: 'God damn me, I burn! I burn!'" "In the church itself, nearly one thousand were put to the sword. I believe all their friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two;" but these were the sole exceptions to the rule of killing the soldiers only. At a later time Cromwell challenged his enemies to give "an instance of one man since my coming into Ireland, not in arms, massacred, destroyed, or banished." But for soldiers there was no mercy. Of the remnant who surrendered through hunger, "when they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes." "I am persuaded," the dispatch ends, "that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future."

1104. A detachment sufficed to relieve Derry and to quiet Ulster; and Cromwell turned to the south, where as stout a defense was followed by as terrible a massacre at Wexford. A fresh success at Ross brought him to Waterford; but the city held stubbornly out, disease thinned his army, where there was scarce an officer who had not been sick, and the general himself was arrested by illness. At last the tempestuous weather drove him into winter quarters at Cork, with his work half done. The winter of 1649 was one of terrible anxiety. The parliament



was showing less and less inclination to dissolve itself, and was meeting the growing discontent by a stricter censorship of the press and a fruitless prosecution of John Lilburne. English commerce was being ruined by the piracies of Rupert's fleet, which now anchored at Kinsale to support the royalist cause in Ireland. The energy of Vane, indeed, had already recreated a navy, squadrons of which were being dispatched into the British seas, the Mediterranean, and the Levant; and Colonel Blake, who had distinguished himself by his heroic defense of Taunton during the war, was placed at the head of a fleet which drove Rupert from the Irish coast, and finally blockaded him in the Tagus. But even the energy of Vane quailed before the danger which now broke on England from the Scots. "One must go and die there," the young king cried at the news of Ormond's defeat before Dublin, "for it is shameful for me to live elsewhere." But his ardor for an Irish campaign cooled as Cromwell marched from victory to victory; and from the isle of Jersey, which alone remained faithful to him of all his southern dominions, Charles renewed the negotiations with Scotland which his hopes from Ireland had broken. They were again delayed by a proposal on the part of Montrose to attack the very government with whom his master was negotiating; but the failure and death of the marquis in the spring of 1650 forced Charles to accept the Presbyterian conditions; and while an army was raised in the north, the young king prepared to cross to his Scottish dominions.

1105. Dismayed as they were, the English leaders

resolved to anticipate the danger by attacking the new enemy in his own home; but the Lord-General Fairfax, while willing to defend England against a Scotch invasion, scrupled to take the lead in an invasion of Scotland. The council recalled Cromwell from Ireland, but his cooler head saw that there was yet time to finish his work in the west. During the winter he had been busily preparing for a new campaign, and it was only after the storm of Clonmell and the overthrow of the Irish army under Hugh O'Neill in the hottest fight the army had yet fought, that he embarked for England. The new lord-general entered London amid the shouts of a great multitude; and in July, 1650, but a month after Charles had landed on the shores of Scotland, the English army crossed the Tweed fifteen thousand men strong. But the terror of his massacres in Ireland hung round its leader, the country was deserted, as he advanced, and he was forced to cling for provisions to a fleet which sailed along the coast. The Scotch general, Leslie, with a larger force, refused battle, and lay obstinately in his lines between Edinburgh and Leith. A march of the English army round his position to the slopes of the Pentlands only brought about a change of the Scottish front; and as Cromwell fell back, baffled, upon Dunbar, Leslie encamped upon the heights above the town, and cut off the English retreat along the coast by the seizure of Cockburnspath. His post was almost unassailable, while the soldiers of Cromwell were sick and starving; and their general had resolved on an embarkation of his forces, when he saw in the dusk of the

evening signs of movement in the Scottish camp. Leslie's caution had at last been overpowered by the zeal of the preachers, and on the morning of the 3d of September, the Scotch army moved down to the lower ground between the hill-side on which it was encamped and a little brook which covered the English front. Leslie's horse was far in advance of the main body, and it had hardly reached the level ground when Cromwell, in the dim dawn, flung his whole force upon it. "They run, I profess, they run!" he cried, as the Scotch horse broke, after a desperate resistance, and threw into confusion the foot who were hurrying to its aid. Then, as the sun rose over the mist of the morning, he added, in nobler words: "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered! Like as the mist vanisheth, so shalt thou drive them away!" In less than an hour the victory was complete. The defeat at once became a rout; ten thousand prisoners were taken, with all the baggage and guns; three thousand were slain, with scarce any loss on the part of the conquerors. Leslie reached Edinburgh a general without an army.

1106. The effect of Dunbar was at once seen in the attitude of the continental powers. Spain hastened to recognize the republic, and Holland offered its alliance. But Cromwell was watching with anxiety the growing discontent at home. He was anxious for a "settlement." He knew that for such a settlement a new parliament was necessary, and that England would never consent to be ruled against her will by the mere rump of members gathered at

Westminster. Yet every day made it plainer that it was their purpose to continue to rule her. The general amnesty claimed by Ireton and the bill for the parliament's dissolution still hung on hand; the reform of the courts of justice, which had been pressed by the army, failed before the obstacles thrown in its way by the lawyers in the commons. "Relieve the oppressed," Cromwell wrote from Dunbar, "hear the groans of poor prisoners. Be pleased to reform the abuses of all professions. If there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a commonwealth." But the house was seeking to turn the current of public opinion in favor of its own continuance by a great diplomatic triumph. It resolved secretly on the wild project of bringing about a union between England and Holland, and it took advantage of Cromwell's victory to dispatch Oliver St. John with a stately embassy to the Hague. His rejection of an alliance and treaty of commerce which the Dutch offered was followed by the disclosure of the English proposal of union. The proposal was at once refused by the states; and the envoys, who returned angrily to the parliament, attributed their failure to the posture of affairs in Scotland. Charles was preparing there for a new campaign. Humiliation after humiliation had been heaped on the young king since he landed in his northern realm. He had subscribed to the covenant; he had listened to sermons and scoldings from the ministers; he was called on at last to sign a declaration that acknowledged the tyranny of his father and the idolatry of his mother

Hardened and shameless as he was, the young king for a moment recoiled. "I could never look my mother in the face again," he cried, "after signing such a paper;" but he signed. He was still, however, a king only in name, shut out from the council and the army, with his friends excluded from all part in government or the war. But he was freed by the victory of Dunbar. "I believe that the king will set upon his own score now," Cromwell wrote after his victory, as he advanced to occupy Edinburgh while the royal forces fell back upon Stirling and Perth. With the overthrow of Leslie, in fact, the power of Argyle and the narrow Presbyterians whom he led came to an end. Hamilton, the brother and successor of the duke who had been captured at Preston, brought back the royalists to the camp, and Charles insisted on taking part in the council and on being crowned at Scone.

1107. Master of Edinburgh, but foiled in an attack on Stirling, Cromwell waited through the winter and the long spring of 1651, while intestine feuds broke up the nation opposed to him, and while the stricter covenanters retired sulkily from the king's army on the return of the "malignants," the royalists of the earlier war, to its ranks. With summer the campaign recommenced, but Leslie again fell back on his system of positions, and Cromwell, finding his camp at Stirling unassailable, crossed into Fife and left the road open to the south. The bait was taken. In spite of Leslie's counsels Charles resolved to invade England, and call the royalist party again to revolt. He was soon in full march through Lancashire upon

the Severn, with the English horse under Lambert hanging on his rear, and the English foot hastening by York and Coventry to close the road to London. "We have done to the best of our judgment," Cromwell replied to the angry alarm of the parliament, "knowing that if some issue were not put to this business it would occasion another winter's war." At Coventry he learned Charles's position, and swept round by Evesham upon Worcester, where the Scotch king was encamped. Throwing half his force across the river, Cromwell attacked the town on both sides on the 3d of September, the anniversary of his victory at Dunbar. He led the van in person, and was "the first to set foot on the enemy's ground." When Charles descended from the cathedral tower to fling himself on the division which remained eastward of the Severn, Cromwell hurried back across the river, and was soon "riding in the midst of the fire." For four or five hours, he told the parliament, "it was as stiff a contest as ever I have seen;" for though the Scots were outnumbered and beaten into the city, they gave no answer but shot to offers of quarter, and it was not till nightfall that all was over. The loss of the victors was as usual inconsiderable. The conquered lost 6000 men and all their baggage and artillery. Leslie was among the prisoners; Hamilton among the dead. Charles himself fled from the field; and after months of strange wanderings and adventures made his escape to France.

1108. "Now that the king is dead and his son defeated," Cromwell said gravely to the parliament,

“I think it necessary to come to a settlement.” But the settlement which had been promised after Naseby was still as distant as ever after Worcester. The bill for dissolving the present parliament, though Cromwell pressed it in person, was only passed, after bitter opposition, by a majority of two; and even this success had to be purchased by a compromise which permitted the house to sit for three years more. Internal affairs were almost at a deadlock. The parliament appointed committees to prepare plans for legal reforms or for ecclesiastical reforms, but it did nothing to carry them into effect. It was overpowered by the crowd of affairs which the confusion of the war had thrown into its hands, by confiscations, sequestrations, appointments to civil and military offices, in fact the whole administration of the state; and there were times when it was driven to a resolve not to take any private affairs for weeks together in order that it might make some progress with public business. To add to this confusion and muddle there were the inevitable scandals which arose from it; charges of malversation and corruption were hurled at the members of the house; and some, like Haselrig, were accused with justice of using their power to further their own interests. The one remedy for all this was, as the army saw, the assembly of a new and complete parliament in place of the mere “rump” of the old, but this was the one measure which the house was resolute to avert. Vane spurred it to a new activity. In February, 1652, the amnesty bill was forced through after fifteen divisions. A grand committee, with Sir

Matthew Hale at its head, was appointed to consider the reform of the law. A union with Scotland was pushed resolutely forward; eight English commissioners convoked a convention of delegates from its counties and boroughs at Edinburgh, and, in spite of dogged opposition, procured a vote in favor of the proposal. A bill was introduced which gave legal form to the union, and admitted representatives from Scotland into the next parliament. A similar plan was proposed for a union with Ireland.

1109. But it was necessary for Vane's purposes not only to show the energy of the parliament, but to free it from the control of the army. His aim was to raise in the navy a force devoted to the house, and to eclipse the glories of Dunbar and Worcester by yet greater triumphs at sea. With this view the quarrel with Holland had been carefully nursed; a "navigation act," prohibiting the importation in foreign vessels of any but the products of the countries to which they belonged, struck a fatal blow at the carrying trade from which the Dutch drew their wealth; and fresh debates arose from the English claim to salutes from all vessels in the channel. In May, 1652, the two fleets met before Dover, and a summons from Blake to lower the Dutch flag was met by the Dutch admiral, Van Tromp, with a broadside. The states-general attributed the collision to accident, and offered to recall Van Tromp, but the English demands rose at each step in the negotiations till war became inevitable. The army hardly needed the warning conveyed by the introduction of a bill for its disbanding to understand the new



policy of the parliament. It was significant that, while accepting the bill for its own dissolution, the house had as yet prepared no plan for the assembly which was to follow it; and the Dutch war had hardly been declared when, abandoning the attitude of inaction which it had observed since the beginning of the commonwealth, the army petitioned, not only for reform in church and state, but for an explicit declaration that the house would bring its proceedings to a close. The petition forced the house to discuss a bill for "a new representative," but the discussion soon brought out the resolve of the sitting members to continue as a part of the coming parliament without re-election. The officers, irritated by such a claim, demanded in conference after conference immediate dissolution, and the house as resolutely refused. In ominous words Cromwell supported the demand of the army. "As for the members of this parliament, the army begins to take them in disgust. I would it did so with less reason." There was just ground, he urged, for discontent in their selfish greed of houses and lands, the scandalous lives of many, their partiality as judges, their interference with the ordinary course of law in matters of private interest, their delay of law reform, above all in their manifest design of perpetuating their own power. "There is little to hope for from such men," he ended with a return to his predominant thought, "for a settlement of the nation."

1110. For the moment the crisis was averted by the events of the war. A terrible storm had separated the two fleets when on the point of engaging

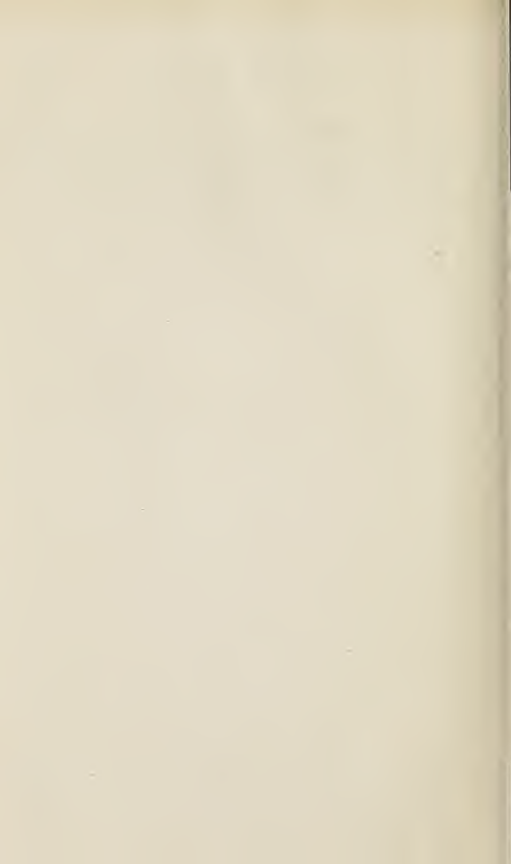
in the Orkneys, but Ruyter and Blake met again in the channel, and after a fierce struggle the Dutch were forced to retire under cover of night. Since the downfall of Spain Holland had been the first naval power in the world, and the spirit of the nation rose gallantly with its earliest defeat. Immense efforts were made to strengthen the fleet; and the veteran Van Tromp, who was replaced at its head, appeared in the channel with seventy-three ships of war. Blake had but half the number, but he at once accepted the challenge, and throughout the 28th of November the unequal fight went on doggedly till nightfall, when the English fleet withdrew shattered into the Thames. Tromp swept the channel in triumph, with a broom at his masthead; and the tone of the commons lowered with the defeat of their favorite force. A compromise seems to have been arranged between the two parties, for the bill providing a new representative was again pushed on; and the parliament agreed to retire in the coming November, while Cromwell offered no opposition to a reduction of the army. But the courage of the house rose afresh with a turn of fortune. The strenuous efforts of Blake enabled him again to put to sea in a few months after his defeat; and in February, 1653, a running fight through four days ended at last in an English victory, though Tromp's fine seamanship enabled him to save the convoy he was guarding. The house at once insisted on the retention of its power. Not only were the existing members to continue as members of the new parliament, thus depriving the places they represented of their right of

choosing representatives, but they were to constitute a committee of revision, and in this capacity to determine the validity of each election and the fitness of the members returned.

1111. A conference took place between the leaders of the commons and the officers of the army, who resolutely demanded not only the omission of these clauses, but that the parliament should at once dissolve itself and commit the new elections to a council of state. "Our charge," retorted Haselrig, "cannot be transferred to any one." The conference was adjourned till next morning, on an understanding that no decisive step should be taken; but it had no sooner reassembled on the 20th of April than the absence of the leading members confirmed the news that Vane was fast pressing the bill for a new representative through the house. "It is contrary to common honesty," Cromwell angrily broke out; and, quitting Whitehall, he summoned a company of musketeers to follow him as far as the door of the commons. He sat down quietly in his place, "clad in plain gray clothes and gray worsted stockings," and listened to Vane's passionate arguments. "I am come to do what grieves me to the heart," he said to his neighbor, St. John; but he still remained quiet, till Vane pressed the house to waive its usual forms and pass the bill at once. "The time has come," he said to Harrison. "Think well," replied Harrison; "it is a dangerous work!" and Cromwell listened for another quarter of an hour. At the question "that this bill do pass," he at length rose, and his tone grew higher as he repeated his former

charges of injustice, self-interest and delay. "Your hour is come," he ended, "the Lord hath done with you!" A crowd of members started to their feet in angry protest. "Come, come," replied Cromwell, "we have had enough of this;" and striding into the midst of the chamber, he clapped his hat on his head, and exclaimed, "I will put an end to your prating!" In the din that followed his voice was heard in broken sentences—"it is not fit that you should sit here any longer! You should give place to better men! You are no parliament." Thirty musketeers entered at a sign from their general, and the fifty members present crowded to the door. "Drunkard!" Cromwell broke out as Wentworth passed him; and Martin was taunted with a yet coarser name. Vane, fearless to the last, told him his act was "against all right and all honor." "Ah, Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane," Cromwell retorted in bitter indignation at the trick he had been played, "you might have prevented all this, but you are a juggler, and have no common honesty! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" The Speaker refused to quit his seat, till Harrison offered to "lend him a hand to come down." Cromwell lifted the mace from the table. "What shall we do with this bauble?" he said. "Take it away!" The door of the house was locked at last, and the dispersion of the commons was followed a few hours after by that of their executive committee, the council of state. Cromwell himself summoned them to withdraw. "We have heard," replied the president, John Bradshaw, "what you have done this morning at the

house, and in some hours all England will hear it. But you mistake, sir, if you think the parliament dissolved. No power on earth can dissolve the parliament but itself, be sure of that !”



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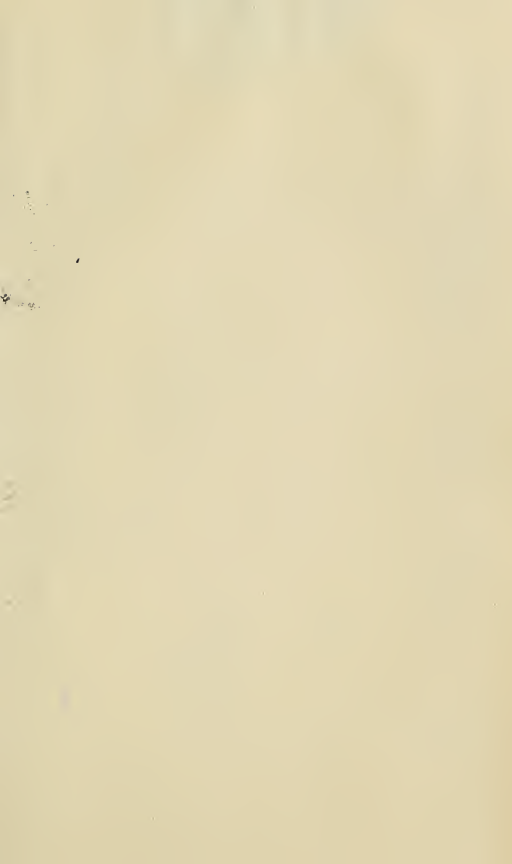
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